STUDIES IN GREEK COLOUR TERMINOLOGY

VOLUME II

ΧΑΡΟΠΟΣ

MNEMOSYNE

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COLLEGERUNT

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SUPPLEMENTUM SEXAGESIMUM SEPTIMUM

P. G. MAXWELL-STUART

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LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXXI

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BY

P. G. MAXWELL-STUART

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FOREWORD

In composing this book I have adopted the same method I used for my discussion of γλαυκός, and for the same reasons. Thus, Chapter II is in the form of a detailed lexicon in which every usage of χαροπός first by prose then by verse writers is exhibited and, if necessary, discussed in detail. The information appears under the heads of authors who are arranged in alphabetical order. This is to enable a reader to look up any passage which may have struck him during his reading, as quickly and conveniently as possible, to see any obscurities investigated and to note that particular author's use of χαροπός as a whole, whether his use be 'normal'—that is, in accordance with what one may usually expect of the word—or peculiar. For those who wish for a history of the term's development, Chapter III provides a chronological survey and notes any changes of meaning as they occur, along with any symbolic or emotional significance which may have been inherent in, or become attached to, χαροπός during the course of its usage. Finally, etymology is discussed and word lists are provided.

Acknowledgement of assistance I have received in connection with specific points will be found in the footnotes, but I should like to record here my thanks to Dr. B.F. Whitehead for reading and confirming my interpretation of Asclepiades's psychopathology, Dr. J.T. Killen and Dr. D.J. Crawford for reading and commenting upon the typescript as a whole, and Mr. T.R. Bowen for his continued help and support.

ABBREVIATIONS

For the most part I have followed the abbreviations used by *L'Année Philologique*. Titles of papyri appear according to the system adopted in the new LSJM. In addition I have employed

AG *Anthologia Graeca.*
CCAG *Catalogi Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum.*
LSJM Liddell-Scott-Jones-McKenzie: *Greek-English Lexicon.*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

It was my contention in an earlier volume which examined the colour-term γλαυκός that previous discussions of Greek colour-terms had usually started from the wrong premises and by confining themselves to a field of inquiry too narrow to yield satisfactory results had thus wasted much time and effort in idle speculation about Greek colour-vision when the groundwork of their studies, an exact understanding of the colour-terms themselves, had not been undertaken. I hope that the former study has rectified, in some measure, a few of these defects, and has indicated what needs further to be done. One sad misunderstanding, at least, should have disappeared—that Greek colour-vision was defective. It cannot be said too strongly that the Greeks had nothing wrong with their eyes or with their vocabulary. Any usage eccentric or unusual will find an explanation both in a cultural sensibility which was different from our own and in our unreasonable or misguided demands upon their language.[1]

Nevertheless, what one can do to recover the precise shades of meaning and, especially, the symbolism and emotional reverberations of Greek colour-terms is limited by the nature of the evidence with which one is dealing. No full-scale investigation such as can be carried out by modern philologists and psychologists is possible with the ancient Greeks, for obvious reasons. One's objectives, therefore, must be realistic. It is no use our asking questions which could be answered only by a living ancient Greek who had our experiences (of artificial colours, for example), and then concluding that because we do not receive the answers we expected, or answers in sufficient detail, there must have been something defective about the ancient language or vision or both. *Some* proper understanding, and no more, is all we can hope to acquire.

Since the material upon which one works is almost entirely the written language, what one uncovers with regard to Greek colour-vision is Bullough's *associative process*—the meaning of the colour-term as it is applied to various objects, and the emotional attitude evinced by a number of people at different times as a result of that

application. One has no accurate means of telling whether a favourable or unfavourable judgment upon a colour is caused by the colour itself or by the object to which it is applied. But if the term regularly evoked a more or less uniform response from many different people over a long period of time, as γλαυκός did when it described eyes, for example, one may reasonably infer that it would evoke that response from most people at most times and therefore one can describe the general reaction to it as favourable or unfavourable. Practically all one's judgments, however, must be of a tentative and circumspect nature.[2]

One must be careful, then, only to ask such questions as may stand a reasonable chance of being answered and this, necessary to a proper understanding of the colour-terms themselves, becomes essential when investigating the symbolism attached to various colours. As. E. Leach has said, 'Even when it is evident that the colour of something has symbolic significance, we can never be sure what it is. Each case must be investigated in its particular context.'[3] Any such investigation, however, must be founded upon as precise a definition of the individual colour-terms as is possible to achieve, otherwise extrapolation into the blue, a notable feature of many discussions of Greek colour-vision based largely upon poetic usage, will ensnare the imagination and trap it in what will turn out to be little more than a vaporous fancy. 'Science,' wrote Thomas Huxley once, and his words could apply with equal justice to philology, 'is nothing but trained and organised common sense, differing from the latter only as a veteran may differ from a raw recruit: and its methods differ from those of common sense only as far as the guardsman's cut and thrust differ from the manner in which a savage wields his club.'

CHAPTER TWO

ΧΑΡΟΠΟΣ: THE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

It has been the convention to translate χαροπός either as *bright* or *grim* or *fierce*, or to treat it as more or less a synonym of γλαυκός and so render it by *blue-grey* or *grey-blue*. As the following texts will show, the latter is incorrect and the former largely mistaken. In fact χαροπός means *amber* or *light brown*, and in dealing with some of the evidence I have had to anticipate this conclusion either in order to make proper sense of a passage or so that I might conduct a useful discussion of the word and its context. Such anticipation, however, I have tried to keep to a minimum.

PROSE

Adamantius

(i) Date: fourth - fifth centuries A.D.

(ii) *Physiognomica.*

1.7 [Small, shifty, γλαυκοί eyes betoken untrustworthy and suspicious men]. Small, shifty eyes which are χαροποί or μέλανες show the same thing, in as much as χαροποί[1] are somewhat unstable and inconsiderate.

1.8 Χαροποί(ς) eyes are more speckled than γλαυκοῖς.[2]

1.11a Χαροποί eyes distinguish themselves from μελάνων by speckling, of which there are many kinds.[3] Μέλανες eyes show natures which are without manhood, greedy, and not to be trusted. So also do χαροποί.

1.11b In χαροποῖς eyes, in as far as the specks are <πυρρότεραι>, the person's character will turn out to be somewhat fierce, quick to anger, insolent and adulterous.

1.11c If the χαροποῖ(ς) eyes are without specks but have a variegated rim [round the edge], examine the size and colour of the rim.

2.2 And if you see eyes which are χαροπούς and fairly hollow, call to mind the lion.[4]

2.32 [Greeks and Ionians have moist, χαροπούς, and brilliantly spirited eyes].[5]

2.46 [A graceful man's eyes are] moist, shining, and χαροποί.

2.49 The man who conducts himself in seemly fashion, (ὁ κόσμιος), speaks in a low voice, walks slowly ... and has a χαροπός eye which has a moist, not a bright, appearance.[6]

Commentary

A. (2.2)

Lions have amber-coloured or dark brown eyes. N. Carr has recorded that variations in this shade provide an indication of the animal's temperament. "During my association with lions in the wild state," he said, "I have come to the conclusion that the colour of their eyes is an infallible guide to their character, and during my last visit to England I was pleased to hear my theory confirmed by a man connected with one of the largest circuses in Britain."[7] Of one particular lion he remarked, "His eyes were not that dark brown rusty colour which one sees in a really good-natured animal, but on the other hand not had they that mean yellow look which is a sure sign that a lion is vicious." The observation made by both Adamantius and Aristotle, that lions' eyes are deep-set, is odd because they are, if anything, exophthalmic.

B. (2.32)

Adamantius (2.31) contrasted "those who live in Northern climes" with Greeks and Ionians. By "Northern climes", Classical writers tended to mean Germany and Gaul, though here Thrace and Macedonia would be covered by the term. Since Adamantius described Northerners as pale and blue-eyed (λευκοί and γλαυκοί), it is to be expected that Greeks and Ionians will be different. In other words, χαροπούς is unlikely to refer to a shade of blue or grey. Moreover, γλαυκοί eyes were 'dry', whereas χαροποί are here described as 'moist', so one may expect a marked difference in colour.[8]

Aelian

(i) Of Praeneste. Date: c. 170-235 A.D.

(ii) *De Natura Animalium.*

14.16 [The wild goats of Libya]. Their eyes are χαροποί.

Commentary

Aelian's description is strongly suggestive of the Barbary sheep, (*Ammotragus lervia*),[9] a very powerful animal with peculiar distribution of long hair, similar to that here described. Their eyes are amber-yellow.[10] There is nothing odd about Aelian's classifying them as goats, if they are indeed his animal. In Aethiopia there evolved breeds of sheep and goats so alike that travellers often confused the two, or reported that cross-breeding had taken place.

Anonymous

(i) Date: first century B.C.—first century A.D.

(ii) *Stadiasmus Maris Magni.*

307 From Phileos to the Heads is [a distance of] 60 stadia. There are two anchorages: one is χαροπός,[12] the other λευκός.

Commentary

The sequence of points along the north-east coast of Cyprus in which Phileos is included goes from C. Greco to Famagusta, Salamis, 'Palaea', 'Phileos', C. St. Andreas (or the Klidhes Islands). *Standford's Map of Cyprus* (1878) shows the island's geological structure and reveals that the area round Pyrila Point is sandstone, while just below is an area of limestone. Since it is clear that the two colour-terms must refer to the physical aspect of the anchorages—they make no sense otherwise—λευκός is an adequate description of the latter, and χαροπός of the former. This suggests that χαροπός means *tawny, light brown.*[13]

Aristotle

(i) Date: 384-322 B.C.

(ii) *De Generatione Animalium.*

5.1 (779a.32, 35) [Another class of animal] will be completely χαροπόν or γλαυκόν ... But the eyes of human beings turn out to be multicoloured. Some are γλαυκοί, others χαροποί, etc.

5.1 (779b.14) We must now determine ... why some [eyes] are γλαυκά, some χαροπά, etc.

Historia Animalium.

1.10 (492a.3) [The iris]. In some animals it really is μέλαν, in others very γλαυκόν, in others χαροπόν, etc.[14]

Physiognomica (pseudo-Aristotle).

3 (807b.1) [Characteristic of a brave man]. A χαροπόν eye.

3 (807b.19) [A man of easy disposition]. His eye is χαροπόν and moist.

5 (809b.19) [A lion's eyes are] deepset and χαροπούς.[15]

6 (812b.5) Those whose eyes are not γλαυκοί but χαροποί are courageous.

Commentary

G.A. 5.1 (779a.32, 35)

The various translations of χαροπός made by different commentators are instructive in their variety.

(a) Arabic version attributed to Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq: *shuhāl* (dark blue), giving *azraq* (light blue) for γλαυκός in the same passage.

(b) Guillaume de Moerbeke (1260): *varii*, a version which may owe something to the anonymous Latin *Physiognomica* 26, "χαροποί varietatem in se habent."[16]

(c) Th. Gaza (published in Venice, 1526): *russi* and *flavidi*, the latter being correct. *Russus* is far too red, the equivalent, perhaps, of πυρρός.

(d) St. Hilaire (Paris 1887): *bruns*, which is almost correct; then *azurés* twice. The mixture of colour-terms is quite inexplicable.

(e) A.L. Peck (Loeb ed. 1942): *greyish-blue.*

(f) P. Louis (Budé ed. 1961): *gris*. Neither of these modern versions is correct.

Arrian

(i) Date: second century A.D.

(ii) *Cynegetica.*

4.5 The third kind [of dog] is χαροπά. These χαροπά are neither inferior, nor indications of an inferior breed of dog, provided their eyes are clear and spirited.

5.1 Actually, I once raised a χαροπήν bitch who was χαροπωτάτην. She was fast, hard-working, big-hearted, and had good feet.

Commentary

Various breeds of dog were known to and used by the Greeks. Their hunting dog was a form of greyhound, originally brought from North Africa.[17] Other members of the greyhound family are the saluki, which may have been imported from Seleucia, and the Afghan hound which came originally from the Sinai Peninsula.[18] The eye-colour of these breeds is variable. Salukis usually have dark hazel eyes, though these may also be black, amber, chestnut, and reddish-brown.[19] Afghan hounds' eyes are dark but may also, on occasion, be of a golden colour.[20] Greyhounds' eyes are mostly dark.[21]

Arrian's account of his bitch describes an unusual dog, not the sort an expert would approve, except under certain conditions, but he goes on to give an example of how such a dog can be as good as the more common sort. From what he says, it seems clear that her eyes were much lighter in colour than normal, from which it follows that she probably had a light-coloured coat.[22] A likely candidate for the type is a golden-eyed Afghan hound, but a sure identification one cannot give.[23]

Astrologers

(i) Various authors; none exactly datable.

(ii) *C.C.A.G.*

1.116[13] [Those born under Leo] become enthusiastic astronomers. Their eyes are ὑπογλαύκους rather than χαροπούς and they are very good-looking.[24]

4.159[1, 3] [The man born under Aries]. He will be well-formed and good-looking. He will go bald at the front of his head. He will have a broad face, be of average height, well-shaped, and χαροπός ... He will be completely χαροπός.[25]

8[3].129[19] [Astrological prediction for someone born when Venus is in Libra, the Moon in Virgo, etc.] In temperament, rather hot and moist, tending rather to hot. Λευκός in complexion ... Fairly handsome and pleasant in manner. His eyes will be χαροπός without being ugly.

Basil

(i) Of Cappadocia. Date: obiit 379 A.D.

(ii) *Homiliae in Hexaemeron.*

6.6 A man is curly-haired, they say, and χαροπός, because he was born under Aries, for this is what the animal looks like.[26]

Chrysippus

(i) Date: c. 280-207 B.C.

(ii) *De Indifferentibus.*

Fr. 136 [On things to which one may remain indifferent]. As far as the body is concerned, λευκότητα, μελανότητα, χαροπότητα ...[27]

Dicaearchus

(i) From Messana. A pupil of Aristotle. Date: fourth century B.C.

(ii) Apud Clement of Alexandria: *Cohortatio ad Gentes* 1.2

Dicaearchus says that [Heracles] was square-built, muscular, μέλανα, hooknosed, ὑποχαροπόν, and long-haired.[28]

Epiphanius

(i) Date: obiit 403 A.D.

(ii) *Adversus Haereses.*

3.2.78[12] [Of the lioness]. The animal is extremely voracious, χαρωπόν in colour, and of very great strength.[29]

Commentary

"Χαρωπὸν τῷ εἴδει" is a reference to the body, not to the eye.[30] According to C.A.W. Guggisberg, "Lions show very marked individual variations in the colour of their skins. Among the lions in the Nairobi National Park there are, for instance, fawn-coloured, greyish-yellow and reddish-brown species."[31]

Florentinus

(i) Date: third century A.D.[32]

(ii) Apud *Geoponica.*

14.16.2 The best fighting cocks are those with top-knots which look as though they are twisted up, red crests (φοινικόλοφοι),[33] a short beak, εὐχάροποι eyes, and μελανόφθαλμοι.

18.1.3 The rams must be of good shape and handsome to look at. Their eyes should be χαροπούς and they must have hairy foreheads, good short horns, etc.

Commentary

A.

"Εὐχάροποι eyes" is omitted in L and, indeed, cannot be admitted with μελανόφθαλμοι since the two phrases contradict each other. There is obviously a difference of opinion between experts.[34]

B.

Oddly enough, there is in Latin the equivalent of χαροπός. *Ravus* is a rarer word, but seems to have a similar fate of being translated as *grey* or *tawny*. Varro used the phrase 'ravis oculis' in his description of desirable rams,[35] so it may be worthwhile examining the Latin to see if it shed any light on the Greek. Apart from the Varro passage, *ravus* is found in the following prose authors:

(a) Cicero: *Academica* 2.33 (105).

He is remarking on the changeable appearance of the sea, to illustrate that certainty is not a prerequisite of a man's giving his assent to a proposition or sensation, etc.

"This wise man, of whom I was speaking, will view the sky, earth and sea with the same eyes as a wise man of your school and will perceive, with like senses, the rest of the objects which fall under each of them. That sea over there which looks *purpureum* now that the West wind is beginning to rise will look the same to our wise man, although he will not admit it, because we ourselves thought it looked *caeruleum* just now; and early tomorrow morning it will seem *ravum*."

Touched by the sun soon after dawn, the sea may well take on a flecked yellow-gold appearance. Cf. the use of *flavus* discussed by Aulus Gellius: *Noctes Atticae* 2.26.13 and 21-23, quoting Pacuvius and Ennius.[36]

(b) Paulus, apud Festum: *De Significatu Verborum* (p. 339, Lindsay).

"Those whom Plautus calls *ravistellos* are so called because the colour is between *flavos* and *caesios*."

The reference is to *Epidicus* 620 which normally reads, "sed quis est haec muliercula et ille gravastellus qui venit?"

I suspect that this is the true text and that Paulus made up his explanation of *ravus* to fit a falsa lectio—an aged man's hair turning from brown to grey, giving an appearance of being in between the two. Elsewhere, *caesius* is used only of the eyes. Paulus's remark is inexplicable, however, unless he was thinking of hair.

(c) Pliny: *N.H.* 11.55 (148).

[Of eyes]. "The pupil is surrounded by circles, [i.e. the iris] which in some people are coloured *nigri*, in others *ravi*, and in others *glauci*."[37]

(d) Varro: *De re rustica* 2.9.3.

[On sheep-dogs]. "They should have a pleasantly shaped face, large build, and dark or *ravis* eyes."[38]

His full description indicates a species of Pyranean mountain-dog which has both dark and light-coloured eyes, brown to amber.[39]

(e) *Ibid.* 3.9.5.

[Cockerels should have *ravis* or dark eyes].[40]

(f) Arnobius: *Adversus Nationes* 3.14.

"In fashioning the gods, you represent some with long hair, others as smooth-shaven, old men, young men, boys, *caesios, ravos*, half-naked, etc."[41]

Examples from verse are as follows:

(g) Horace: *Odes* 3.27.3.

"May the wicked be guided by the omens of a screaming lapwing and a pregnant bitch, or by a *rava* she-wolf running down from the Lanuvian fields."

Wolves may be tawny, grey, or black, the tawny being very common. *Lupa* was also a slang term for prostitute, perhaps because such women often dyed their hair yellow.[42] So this may be an indication that a *lupa* was usually thought of as tawny in colour.

(h) *Epodes* 16.33.

"The dove shall pair with the kite, the trustful herd shall not fear *ravos* lions."

As we have noted before, lions can vary from tawny to grey, though the former is the more usual colour and, since Horace was here making a general statement, there is no reason to suppose that his adjective should be given a sense out of the ordinary.[43]

(i) Ovid: *Amores* 1.12.19.

"That [tree] gave its foul shade to *ravis* screech-owls."

D'Arcy Thompson identified this as an Eagle Owl, (*Bubo bubo*) which is of a tawny colour.[44] Presumably the unpleasant sound made by these birds is what gave rise to Paulus's note on Lucilius, fr. 1305 (Krenkel): "Rava vox rauca et parum liquida, proxime canum latratum sonans."[45]

From all this, therefore, it seems most likely that *ravus* refers to a streaky yellowish-brown colour, *tawny* being the nearest simple English equivalent, and that Varro's rams with which I began this excursus had yellow-brown eyes. The same may be said for those of Florentinus.[46]

Fronto

(i) Of Cirta in Numidia. Date: c. 100-c. 166 A.D.

(ii) Apud *Geoponica*.

19.2.1 [On dogs]. "They should have a thick tail, quite naturally tapered, and a deep bark. Their colour should be λευκούς, especially sheep-dogs, and their eyes χαροπούς and leonine, whether they are shaggy or smooth-coated."

Commentary.

This is probably the Pyranean mountain dog of Varro,[47] in which case these eyes are amber in colour. Columella agreed that sheep-dogs should be white, though he said nothing about the colour of their eyes.[48] His farmyard dog is to have *nigris vel glaucis oculis, acri lumine radiantibus*, which reminds one of the requirements for an old English sheep-dog in whom dark or wall-eyes are preferred.[49]

GALEN

(i) Date: c. 129-199 A.D.

(ii) *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur* 7 = K4.797.

[Quotation of Aristotle: *H.A.* 1.10 (492a.2)]

Medicus 11 = K14.712 (pseudo-Galen).

[Χαροπός is one of the possible colours of the human iris.]

In Hippocratis de humoribus, Commentarius 1.8 = K16.91.

[Quoting Hippocrates to the effect that χαροπόν is one of the signs of a consumptive.]

In Hippocratis Epidemias 3, Commentarius 3.70 = K17¹.723.

You learnt in the books *De Temperamentis* that one cannot draw from χαροπῶν, or indeed from the colours of the eyes in general, any sure indication of the temperament as a whole. First of all, one must bear in mind the great variety of those eyes called χαροπούς.[50] Call to mind those verses of the poet [Homer]:
"bears and wild boars and χαροποί lions."[51]

Ibid. = K17¹.724.

Then, when you have seen a number of lions, stock your memory with the colour of their eyes ... [It is a mixture of warm and dry. The colour χαροπόν indicates a warm, dry temperament.]

Ibid. = K17¹.726.

It was better to say γλαυκούς rather than χαροπούς because [χαροποί] are thought to come from a cold mixture [of elements], [γλαυκοί] of moist; others of equal parts of cold and moist—all of which does not contradict my present argument. Let us now compare with these, newly-born children, Scythians, Celts, and Germans, who, it is generally agreed, have more moisture in their constitution. What is not yet admitted is that they are colder, too.[52] Consequently, bearing these things in mind, I thought it worthwhile to investigate the colour of χαροπῶν eyes.

Ibid. = K17^1.726.

[Some followers of Hippocrates include χαροπόν as a sign of a hot nature, others of a dry, others of both.]

Ibid. = K17^1.726.

[Quotation from Sabinus, q.v.]

Ibid. = K17^1.727.

So did not Hippocrates write χαροπόν instead of γλαυκοῦ.

In Hippocratis de medici officina, Commentarius 1.4 = K18^2.664.

[Writing of the differences between men]. One is γλαυκός, another χαροπός, or μέλας, or whatever his eyes may be. These are supposed to be alike. Yet it is more usual to say that γλαυκός is like γλαυκῷ, χαροπός like χαροπῷ, etc.[53]

Ibid., Commentarius 2.2 = K18^2.728.

[Specific peculiarities of the body can give their names to the whole, as a means of identifying a man. Thus, a flat-nosed man is named, not after the way one calls a man thick or thin or λευκός or μέλας, but as one calls a man γλαυκός or χαροπός or hunchbacked.][54]

Commentary.

[*In Hipp. de humoribus, Comment.* 1.8]

Tuberculosis may affect the eye in a variety of ways. Nodular tuberculomata of the conjunctiva show themselves by the presence of grey or yellow subconjunctival nodules which begin small and then grow. Tuberculosis in the sclera, which occurs typically in patients suffering from active tuberculosis of the lung, also produces nodules which turn yellow, and one may note, too, that chronic miliary tuberculomata of the iris show themselves as yellow elevations in the stroma.[55] It seems clear, therefore, that Hippocrates was correct in his observation that a colour-change showed itself in the eye, and it is also likely that χαροπός here refers to a shade of yellow.[56]

Heliodorus

(i) Date: c. 220-250 A.D.

(ii) *Aethiopica.*

2.35.1 [The leader of the Aenianes]. His looks and spirit recalled [Achilles] ... His eyes, not quite χαροπός, but χαροπώτερον μελαινόμενος, gave glances at once proud and ready for love—like the sea when it is just beginning to settle down from a swell into a calm.

Commentary

According to Plutarch, the Aenianes had been forced to migrate from one place to another in Northern Greece.[57] They came originally from Oetnaea in Thessaly, and this may account for Heliodorus's saying that Theagenes looked like Achilles, since Achilles was the great Thessalian hero.

In his Budé translation (1935), J. Maillon added a note to the effect that Heliodorus probably drew upon the description of Achilles given by Philostratus in *Heroicus* 19.5. This is almost certainly correct, but Maillon's translation—"les yeux, non pas d'un bleu clair, mais d'un bleu noir"—indicates that he was misled by the reference to the sea.

As I have argued infra, 31-46, the phrase χαροπὰ κύματα arose from the introverted and masochistic temperament of a poet whose emotional life appeared subject always to frustration. The phrase later became a poetic cliché. Two ideas are linked in this passage by Heliodorus, *love* and *the sea.* The visual image perhaps borrowed from Philostratus is reinforced by the poetic phrase χαροπὰ κύματα which is always used in the context of love. Hence, the link between χαροπός and the sea here is psychological, not visual, and its exact translation must be a matter of some doubt.[58]

Hippocratic Corpus

(i) Date: the following probably come from the fifth century B.C.

(ii) *Epidemiae* 2.

Section 5.1 = Littré 5.128.

Those prone to dropsy are χαροποὶ,[59] πυρροί, and sharp-nosed, unless they are bald.

Section 6.1 = Littré 5.132.

Those who are χαροποί,[60] tall, with a small head, a slender throat, and narrow chest, are well-tempered.

Epidemiae 3.

Section 3.14 = Littré 3.96.

[The signs of those prone to tuberculosis]. Smooth skin, ὑπόλευχον, φαχῶδες, χαροπόν, leucophlegmatic.

Commentary

[Littré 3.96]

The fullest and best description of a consumptive patient in the ancient world was made by Aretaeus, and is worth quoting, as it sums up the observations of previous doctors.

"Voice hoarse; neck slightly bent, tender, not flexible, somewhat extended; fingers slender but joints thick; of the bones, only the outline remains, for the fleshy parts are wasted. The finger-nails are crooked, their pulps shrivelled and flat because, owing to the loss of flesh, they retain neither their tension nor roundness, and because of the same thing, the nails are bent—it is the compact flesh at their points which is intended as a support to them. The tension is like that of solids. The nose is sharp and slender; the cheeks prominent and red, (ἐρυθρά); the eyes hollow, brilliant and glittering (χοῖλοι, στιλπνοὶ, γονόωντες); the face swollen, yellowish or livid, (ὠχροὶ ἢ πελιδνοί); the slender parts of the jaws rest upon the teeth as if smiling. Altogether, they look like corpses."[61]

Many features of this description are correct. A redness of the cheeks against a generally pallid complexion may well be one of the signs to look for in a tuberculous patient. Galen objected to Hippocrates's use of the word χαροπός in this passage on the grounds that χαροποί eyes indicated a *hot* constitution, and so Hippocrates should have written γλαυχοί.[62] His reasons—that the other cases with which Hippocrates dealt were cold and moist—are frivolous, since consumption is so obviously a 'hot' disease, and was so regarded by the ancients. Moreover, as I pointed out supra, 13, Hippocrates's noting of changes in the eye of a consumptive was perfectly correct.

Lucian

(i) Of Samosata. Date: second century A.D.

(ii) *Dialogi Mortuorum.*

1.3 Say to the men who are handsome and strong ... 'Here [in the Underworld] there is no ξανθή hair, nor χαροπά nor μέλανα eye, nor ἐρύθημα on the cheek.'

Dialogi Deorum.

19.1 [Athene] is frightening because she is χαροπή and terribly like a man.

Commentary

[19.1] This is the only occasion on which χαροπός is applied to Athene whom one more readily associates with γλαυκή.[63] One must infer that χαροπή is meant to be unusual and surprising. It must also have a point. Eros is describing Athene as though she were a beast, or a man on the rampage. She threatens to run him through with her spear, or hurl him into Tartarus, or rip him into pieces. She is 'φοβερά' and 'δεινῶς ἀνδρική.'

Now, χαροπός was frequently applied to lions and to heroes. Heracles, Diomedes, Ajax, Achilles, and Jason were all described as χαροποί, not to mention the wild Jutlander Cimbri.[64] It is possible, therefore, that χαροπή was meant to convey something of wild masculinity which γλαυκή, having become a cliché, would no longer do. Moreover, it is part of a joke, playing with Homer, which Lucian found amusing. His audience would expect γλαυκή; it received χαροπή. The effect was novel and stimulating.

Papyrus Magicus Parisiensis

(i) Date: fourth century A.D.?

(ii) 2.2277 ἀρχῇ χαροπῇ.

Commentary.

This puzzling phrase probably refers to a she-bear. Ἄρχη is given as the equivalent of the Latin *arca* (box), but this does not make sense. I suspect that the magician forgot, or was unaware, that ἄρχος

can be both masculine and feminine, and wrote what he considered to be the correct form for a she-bear.

Bears usually have brown eyes. Folklore, in particular the local names of plants, sometimes reveals traces of popular imagination through the common or non-scientific words which are used for natural objects. Dioscorides, for example, tells us that the plant *chrysogonon* was sometimes called ἴασπις or λίνον or αὐριολάρια (in Latin) or bear's-eye, (ἀρκόφθαλμον).[65] It is not possible to be quite sure which plant he had in mind, but all the names indicate, or are capable of indicating, that it had yellow flowers. Whether bears were popularly supposed to have yellowish eyes is, of course, another matter.[66]

Papyrus Michigan III

(i) Date: 172 B.C.

(ii) 190.34 Megisto, about 23 years of age, of medium height, λευκόχρως, ὑποχάροπος.[67]

Papyri Petrie

(i) Date: third century B.C.

(ii) 1.19.23 [Witness to a will dated 225 B.C.] Rather hooknosed, χαροπός, curly-haired.

3.6a.45 [A will, dated 237 B.C.] χαροπός Ptolemy, a Persian.

3.11.4 [A will, dated 235 B.C. One of the parties involved]. μ[ε]λάγχρως, stiff, hooknosed, χαροπός.

3.11.36 χαροπός.

Papyri Rylands

(i) Date: 1st April, 121 B.C.

(ii) 581. col. 2.7 [Seller of a dovecot and uncultivated land.] Isidorus, a Persian ... aged about 50, medium height, μελίχρως. He has curly hair, a long face, a straight nose, and is ὑποχ[α]ρ̣ο[π]ός.

Papyri Strassburgienses

(i) Date: second century A.D.

(ii) Apud *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* (1908).

4.143 Tesenouphis, aged about 45, ἐπιχάροψ, crinkly hair ...

Commentary

This is a papyrus from the Fayyum, written by a local government official. The name Tesenouphis is quite common—for example, P. Strass. 151.3,7, 208.10, 216.2-3, 251.9; his having crinkly hair argues that he was negroid and therefore one would expect him to have dark brown eyes. If he had had such, however, there would have been little point in their being mentioned. The Papyri were careful to record, as exactly as possible, those features of a man which could easily and quickly be identified, and dark brown eyes in a negro are hardly extraordinary.

But if χαροπός means yellowish light-brown, then there is point in the adjective. Moreover, one may note the compound ἐπιχάροψ, not used by anyone else and so possibly an invention of this scribe in the interest of complete exactitude. 'Επί, as I have argued elsewhere, indicated a colour which was super-imposed upon another, often with mottled or streaky effect. 'Επιξανθίζω, for example, describes the browning of toast,[68] ἐπίξανθος the yellow-white appearance of lime-flowers in bloom,[69] ἐπιπορφυρίζω the white and crimson petals of apple-flowers,[70] and ἐπιπολιόομαι, the grizzling of a man's hair,[71] 'Επιχάροψ, therefore, is likely to mean a shade of χαροπός streaked or mottled in some distinctive fashion.

Papyri Tebtunis

(i) Date: 192 B.C.

(ii) 816.1.14 Demaenetus is about 35 years old, μελίχρως, curly-haired, long in the face, and ὑποχάροψ.

Commentary

Hunt and Smyly translated ὑποχάροψ as 'with rather bright eyes', but such a version is not really convincing. When one tries to identify a man in a legal document, one mentions colouration and physical peculiarities which will be readily observed without misunderstanding. 'Bright eyes' could apply to almost anyone. Moreover, ὑπο indicates dullness, not brilliance, of colour.[72]

Urkunden der Ptolemaerzeit

(i) Date: 13th August, 156 A.D.

(ii) 121.20 [A runaway slave]. Thin-legged and χαροπός.

Pausanias

(i) Date: second century A.D.

(ii) 9.34.5 [In the precinct of Laphystian Zeus in Boeotia was a statue of Heracles surnamed Χάροψ].

Commentary

N.G. Pappadakis has given the fullest account of the temple.[73] He was quite clear that the adjective χάροψ refers to colour[74]—he called it κιτρινόφαιος or πελιδνωπής—and suggested that 'lion-hearted' heroes tended to be called χαροποί. In Philostratus, *Heroicus* 12.1, Ajax was described as having χαροποί eyes *as lions do before they spring*, which will refer either to amber, the normal colour of a lion's eyes, or to yellow, the colour of an angry or evil-tempered lion.[75] Achilles, too, in the same place was linked with lions, and according to Philostratus Junior (*Imagines* 7.3) Jason was wearing a lion's skin and was obviously meant to look leonine and Herculean. Both heroes had χαροποί eyes. It seems a safe inference, therefore, that Heracles in his lion's skin was meant to be the portrait and pattern of a 'lion-hearted' hero, and another, that Homer's χαροποὶ λέοντες transferred itself, as an image, to men or demi-gods of this kind.[76]

Philostratus

(i) Date: born c. 170 A.D.

(ii) *Gymnasticus*.

25 [Men's characters can be seen in their eyes which are of various colours—μελανοφθάλμων, χαροπῶν, γλαυκῶν, etc.]

Heroicus

4.4 [Diomedes]. Χαροπόν, not at all μέλανα, with a straight nose and curly hair which has a good colour.

12.1 [Ajax]. Looking with χαροποῖς eyes from under his helmet, as lions do just before they spring.

19.5 [Achilles—nose not at all aquiline, crescent-shaped eyebrows, χαροποῖς eyes].

Imagines

1, proem 2 The plastic artist does not bring out the varied brilliance of eyes in his work at all, but painting recognises the χαροπόν eye, the γλαυκόν, and the μέλαν.

1.8.2 A wave is already arching over for the wedding, still γλαυκόν and of a χαροποῦ manner.

1.11.4 Behold their tears are golden. While the welling tide of tears in their eyes gleams in the χαροποῖς pupils and seems to attract rays of light[77]...

1.21.2 Your eye is χαροπόν and many a provoking glance comes from it ...

1.23.4 The eye surely is that of a man in love, for its natural χαροπόν and brightness (γοργόν) are softened by a longing which settles upon it.[78]

1.28.4 He smiles, his χαροπόν eye looks ...

2.5.5 The colour of the eyes varies from χαροποῦ to μέλαν.

Vita Sophistarum

2. (552) [An acquaintance of Herodes Atticus, nicknamed Heracles]. His hair grew evenly on his head, his eyebrows were bushy ... his eyes gave out a χαροπήν ray which betrayed his impulsive temperament. He was hooknosed, etc.[79]

Commentary

A. [Imagines 1.23.4.]

The youth in question is Narcissus whose golden hair (χρυσῆς) obviously prefigures the yellow petals of the flower into which he will turn. But this raises a difficulty at once because the yellow varieties of Narcissus have no centre that could be called distinctively χαροπός. S. Eitrem said that the flower into which Narcissus turned was the *Narcissus poeticus* or *Narcissus tazetta*.[80] The former (Pheasant's eye narcissus) has white petals and yellow corona with a red margin;[81] the latter is similar but lacks the red, which makes it a more likely candidate for Philostratus's χαροπός eye.[82] The χαροπός eye, however, cannot also include the golden hair, and so it is possible that Philostratus (or the painter) mixed two varieties of Narcissus for the sake of artistic convenience.[83]

B. [1.8.2.]

The context is very important. Amymone has dropped a golden pitcher. Her pale features (λευκάν) are tinged by the gold, just as the water reflects the colour too, (ὁ χρυσὸς περιστίλβει κεράσας τὴν αὐγὴν τῷ ὕδατι). The water is thus blue (γλαυκόν) and golden-yellow (χαροποῦ).[84]

Philostratus Junior

(i) Date: third century A.D.?

(ii) *Imagines*.

7.3 Jason's form is slender ... His χαροπόν eye is overhung by a haughty brow ... His ξανθή hair tumbles down upon his forehead.

15.5 [Meleager]. His hair is like the sun and at this moment stands on end because of the force of his attack. His χαροπόν eye flashes a great deal.

Plutarch

(i) Date: c. 50-c. 120 A.D.

(ii) *Marius*.

11.3 [The Teutons and the Cimbri]. The most prevalent conjecture was that they were some of the German tribes ... an idea based on their great height, the χαροπότητι of their eyes, and the fact that Germans call robbers Cimbri.

Moralia (De Iside et Osiride 4) 352d.

[Of Egyptian priests]. They wear their linen garments because of the colour displayed by the flax when in bloom. It is like the χαροπότητι of the upper air which surrounds the earth.

Moralia (De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet 21) 934d.

[Of the Moon]. Finally, if she is eclipsed when dawn is already near, she takes on a κυανοειδῆ and χαροπήν colour, from which especially it arises that poets, and Empedocles, call her γλαυκῶπιν.

Commentary

A. [*Marius* 11.3].

In all these passages here quoted from Plutarch, it would be all too easy to argue that χαροπός must mean *light blue*, as though it were it were a variant of γλαυκός. Indeed, most translations do so treat it. But this is to propose something both unlikely and incredible, that one Greek colour-term can refer to two entirely different colours. The Greeks had one word for light blue and others for shades of yellow. Why would they find it necessary to use an ambiguous term which could mean either? "The Jutlanders were famous for their eyes which were either light blue or yellow." The notion is somewhat eccentric.

Χαροπός, as all other evidence shows, refers to shades between yellow and light brown and in consequence one must presume that that is what Plutarch meant in all these passages. The Cimbri, who came from Jutland,[85] were perhaps of the blond Scandinavian type, and a combination of blond hair and light brown eyes is very striking. Certainly it would ensure that anyone commenting upon their physical appearance would be moved to note the unusual colouration.

B. [*Moralia* 352d].

The note on this passage by J. Gwyn Griffiths betrays a certain puzzlement.[86] He mentions the natural green of flax, its turning yellow as the plant ripens,[87] and the blue or white flowers which provide, he argues, the point of comparison between flax and sky. He was right to be suspicious because Plutarch's phrase, (αἰθερίῳ χαροπότητι), "aetherial tawniness", throws the burden of emphasis upon the noun, which is unmistakeably the colour-term.

Χαροπός means *yellow, amber, tawny*. So there must be varieties of the flax-plant with flowers of that colour;[88] and indeed there are. Upright yellow flax (*Linum strictum*) and another variety (*Linum nodiflorum*) have small yellow flowers, while those of Yellow flax (*Linum flavum*) are large. All three varieties grow in the Mediterranean area, preferring dry grassy places and , in the case of the first two, dry hills and rocks.[89]

Now, I suggest that Plutarch, who wrote *De Iside et Osiride* towards the end of his life when he had long been resident at

Delphi,[90] mistook the linen plant with which he made his comparison. He either did not know, or, after such a long absence from Egypt, had forgotten, that the flowers of the cultivated flax grown in Egypt are blue. Moreover, the physical conditions preferred by cultivated flax are not those to be found in the dry, rocky hills among which Delphi was built. Famous for its profusion of flowers during brief periods of the year, Delphi provides exactly the conditions required by the yellow-flowered varieties of flax, and one may reasonably speculate that, during his many years of residence at Delphi, Plutarch became familiar with the sight of yellow-flax around him. His mistake, if such it was, can easily be understood by returning to the text and remarking the other point of the simile, the 'air' with which the flower's colour is compared.

"It is like the tawny aether which surrounds the universe," (τῇ περιεχούσῃ τὸν κόσμον αἰθερίῳ χαροπότητι). One is struck at once by the notion that αἰθήρ is a technical term from Stoic cosmology. Anaxagoras, Chrysippus, and other Stoics, identified aether with fire[91] as, indeed, did Lucretius.[92] A circumambient atmosphere of flame is undoubtedly yellow or tawny in colour and this, I suggest, is what Plutarch had in mind.

C. [*Moralia* 934d].

This passage is discussed more fully in my volume on γλαυκός. It is worth noting here, however, that during an eclipse a dark blue shadow (κυανοειδῆ) passes over the Moon's pale yellow disk (χαροπήν) to produce that curious effect of an owl's eye partly covered by its nictitating membrane, which the Greeks called γλαυκῶπις.

Additional Note

Moralia (De Iside et Osiride 29) 362b.

There is a textual difficulty involving Mss. χαροπῶς. Griffiths gives the reading Χαροποῦς τῆς μὲν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους γενέσθαι θυγατρὸς < ὁ Σάραπ > ις, "Sarapis was born of Charopo, the daughter of Heracles." In his commentary ad locum Griffiths explains how Parmentier emended the Ms. reading and suggested that Charopo is so called because she is named after her father, 'joyful' at having returned safely from Hades, for which he cited Pausanias 9.34.4. Why Heracles's daughter should be called joyful when it was her

father who had cause to rejoice is not explained, and I find the suggestion implausible. If explanation of her name has to be offered, I submit that in the Pausanias passage, χάροψ refers to the colour of Heracles's eyes, so that if indeed he did have a daughter, she is likely to have inherited from him that physical characteristic.

Pollux

(i) Of Naucratis. Date: second century A.D.

(ii) *Onomasticon.*

2.4 (61) Χαροπός [Part of a list of different eye-colours].
5.10 (62) Χαροπός [Listed as a fault in a dog].[93]
5.12 (69) The hare has a γλαυκός or χαροπός eye.[94]
6.11 (82) Χαροπή [A type of grape].

Commentary

6.11 (82) Grapes are usually divided into three colour-groups, white, red and black. Often there occur intermediate shades including pink, brown and greenish-black, but these are not regarded with favour.[95] Pliny recorded 91 varieties of grape, including one he called *alopecis*, the 'fox-grape', which, he said, resembled a fox's brush.[96] The ἀλώπηξ is the red fox (*Vulpes vulpes*), the most common of the European foxes. Its tail is reddish in colour with black, yellow, or grey spots, and may have a white or black tip.[97] It is possible that Pollux was referring to a grape of similar colour and mottled appearance.[98]

Ptolemy

(i) Date: floruit 127-148 A.D.

(ii) *Tetrabiblos.*

3. 12.6 Venus ... makes the eyes ὑποχαροπούς as well as beautiful.[99]

Rufus

(i) Of Ephesus. Date: second century A.D.

(ii) *Nomina partium corporis.*

25 (p. 136, Ruelle) [The colour of the iris]. One says it is μέλαν, πυρρὸν, γλαυκόν, or χαροπόν.[100]

Sabinus

(i) Date: fourth century B.C.?

(ii) Apud Galen: *In Hippocratis Epidemias 3, Commentarius* 3.70 = K17¹.726.

Χαροπόν is very dry, and the man who has this [colour] has a tendency to consumption.[101]

Sextus Empiricus

(i) Date: floruit c. 200 A.D.

(ii) *Adversus Dogmaticos.*

1.198 [People do not receive identical impressions of colours]. Those with a λευκόν eye receive one impression, those with a χαροπόν another, those μελανόφθαλμον another.

Adversus Mathematicos.

5.95 [Astrologers] say that whoever is born under Virgo will be straight-haired, χαροπός, λευκόχρως, childless and modest.

5.102 If the man whose horoscope is Virgo has long straight hair, is χαροπός and λευκόχρως, it must follow that no Aethiopian has Virgo for his horoscope. Otherwise an Aethiopian would be λευκός, χαροπός, and straight-haired.[102]

Symmachus

(i) Date: second or third century A.D.

(ii) Apud Origen: *Hexapla.*[103]

Proverbia 23.29. Who has quarrels? and who vexations and disputes? who has bruises without a cause? whose eyes are livid?

Commentary

Symmachus's gloss on the final word was χαροποί. The Hebrew text gives *ḥakhlilūth*, a word which appears only in this passage and whose meaning is guessed at by the lexicographers. Hence the variation one finds in translations: πελιδνοί (Septuagint) and *suffusio oculorum* (Vulgate). Modern English versions reflect the diversity of

textual readings. Authorised Version: 'redness of eyes'.[104] Knox: 'blood-shot of eye'. New English Bible: 'bloodshot'.[105] Jerusalem Bible: 'clouded'. New American Bible: 'black'.[106] Symmachus's translation is the least plausible, unless he was thinking of the angry Homeric lion with his χαροποί eyes. But it is more likely that he had in mind the corrupt χαροποί for χαροποιοί of *Genesis* 49.12 q.v.

Xenophon

(i) Date: 428/7-c. 354 B.C.

(ii) *Cynegetica.*

3.2-3 ['Vulpine' dogs] are small, hooknosed, χαροποί, short-sighted ... Those which are χαροποί and short-sighted have weak eyes.

5.23 There are two species of hare ... The eyes of the larger are ὑποχαροποί.[107]

Commentary

3.2-3 The evidence for successful cross-breeding between dog and fox is very slight, so much so that most commentators prefer to dismiss the idea as most unlikely.[108] According to Aristotle, the vulpine was a form of Laconian,[109] but in view of the paucity of information, there is little further one can go in an attempt to identify the breed exactly.[110]

VERSE

Anacreontea

(i) Date: perhaps between 50 B.C. and 50 A.D.[111]

(ii) 53.30 (Bergk) [Nature] delivered from the sea-foam Cythera dripping out of the χαροπῆς sea.

Anonymous

(i) Dates: various.

(ii) *A.G.*

9.32 [A newly built ship] had not yet touched the χαροποῦ wave.[112]

Dio Chrysostom: 33.59. = fr. 101 (Bergk). [Of Hecuba]. Χαροπάν bitch.[113]

I.G.

9^1.868.1 Χαροπός Ares destroyed this man during a sea battle.[114]

I.G.

12^2.383.3 [The χαροπός statue of a dog set over a tomb.][115]

Commentary

A. [Dio Chrysostom 33.59]

Hecuba is likened to a wild dog, howling in her misfortune. The full passage is

> χαροπὰν κύνα·
> χάλκεον δέ οἱ γνάθων ἐκ πολιᾶν φθεγγομένας
> ὑπάκουε μὲν Ἴδα Τένεδός τε περιρρύτα
> Θρηΐκιοί τε φιλήνεμοι πέτραι.

Even in this short extract, it is interesting to see how the poet has used his colour-terms as links between his various ideas. Light brown eyes suggest a light brown cry, the clangour of a bronze howl; the grey jaws (grey partly because of the dog's hair)[116] are perhaps flecked with foam, and this suggests the sea boiling round Tenedos. Since the links are obvious, one may use χάλκεος to confirm the notion that χαροπός refers to a light shade of yellow-brown, since χάλκεος would hardly be suggested if χαροπός meant *blue, grey,* or *grim.*

B. [*I.G.* 9^1.868]

Kaibel thought that perhaps the statue of a lion may have guarded the tomb, which is certainly one way of accounting for χαροπός, but not altogether satisfactory. The lion stood over tombs to symbolise the valiance of those who had died,[117] not the ferocity of the war which had killed them, and so I think one must accept that Ares himself is here described as χαροπός.[118] He is presented as the embodiment of a leonine hero, familiar to us from descriptions of Heracles and others.

Antipater of Sidon

(i) Date: floruit c. 120 B.C.

(ii) *A.G.*

7.425.2 Do not be surprised at seeing on Myro's tomb a whip, an owl, a bow, a χαροπόν goose, and a swift bitch.

9.143.6 Pay honour to Cypris, and I shall be a fair wind for you in love, or I shall blow on the χαροπῷ sea.

Commentary

7.425 According to D'Arcy Thompson, the χήν is the Common Goose (*Anser albifrons*),[119] better known as the white-fronted goose. It has light-brown plumage and its eyes also are brown[120] as, indeed, are the eyes of most geese. Why, then, mention the colour of the goose's eyes in connection with a statue placed upon a tomb? I think there are two reasons. The first is alliteration; the repetition of χ is pleasing, just as χαροπὰ κύματα became a standard cliché partly because of its alliterative effect. Secondly, it prepares the reader for a pun which appears later. The construction of the second line, γλαύξ—colour + noun is repeated in line 8 with γλαύξ—colour + noun; only, the repetition involves the γλαύξ—γλαυκός play we have encountered before.[121]

Apollonius Rhodius

(i) Date: third century B.C.

(ii) *Argonautica.*

1.1280 But when χαροπή dawn begins to shine from the sky ...

Commentary

As we have had occasion to note before, χαροπός is frequently associated not only with the eyes of lions and bulls but also with those of Heracles.[122] Apollonius has drawn attention to the hero's lion-skin (1195, 1206) and also likens him, in an extended simile, to a maddened bull (1265-72). He is left behind by the Argonauts when they set sail, in a state of high anger. Χαροπή dawn may therefore be imagined as the enraged eye of the abandoned hero rising over the Argonauts and watching their subsequent quarrel

(1284-6). The Moon is still visible in the sky at dawn and her presence there may reinforce the eye-image. Notice, too, that Jason's eyes "have the appearance of fierce, curling fire," (1297), which suggests that they were of a similar colour.[123] The link is thus strengthened—lion, Heracles, bull, dawn, fire.[124]

Aratus

(i) Of Soli in Cilicia. Date: c. 315-240/39 B.C.

(ii) *Phaenomena.*

394 [Weak stars]. Near them, to the right of brilliant Aquarius, like a thin stream of water sprinkled here and there, feeble χαροποί [stars] revolve.

594 The Hydra's head rises, χαροπός Hare, Procyon and the forefeet of the shining Dog.

1152 [Last four days of the month and first four of the next are a period] when the air, for eight nights, becomes somewhat dangerous from lack of a χαροποῖο Moon.

Commentary

As I said in my book on γλαυκός, (82), Aratus used χαροπός and γλαυκός as colour-terms. In verse 1152 he drew attention to the difference between the last and first days of the lunar month when the Moon is still crescent, and drew an implicit contrast with the light given by the full Moon. In view of the evidence from elsewhere, it is probable that χαροπός here refers to a full yellow rather than a grey, white, or bluish Moon. Indeed, one's immediate reaction is to understand it so. Consequently, the stars referred to in verses 394 and 594 are probably yellowish, too.

One must bear in mind that Aratus's zoomorphic nomenclature gives rise to the temptation to find correspondences between his stars and the animal world. Xenophon had written of two types of hare, one with γλαυκοί eyes, the other with χαροποί.[125] It could be that Aratus was here deliberately employing what he took to be factual observation in order to vary his verses, and yet keep them astronomically plausible, and it is worth noting that a least one of the large stars in the Lepus constellation, *Nihal*, is classified as a yellow giant.[126]

Aristophanes

(i) Date: c. 457-c. 385 B.C.

(ii) *Pax.*

1065-6 (a) [You] who have made a treaty, men with χαροποῖσι monkeys ...; (b) ... I like that! Χαροποῖσι monkeys!

Commentary

As various commentators have pointed out, πιθήκοις is here paraprosdokia for λέουσι in allusion to Homer.[127] The only question is, does the adjective refer to the animals' eyes or pelt? There is a certain ambiguity about the Homeric phrase, since a lion's eyes are amber and its skin most often tawny, and I suspect that Aristophanes's joke would lose some of its impact if the audience did not understand at once the force of the adjective.

Pace Platnauer, it has nothing to do with fierce eyes, since the monkeys are mentioned on account of their mischievous nature.[128] The soothsayer stresses trickery (1066 sq.), not viciousness; the image has nothing to do with animals on the verge of pouncing.

Lions were known in Greece, as is shown by the lion-hunt mosaic at Pella which is dated to the fourth century B.C. Monkeys, on the other hand, were not native to the country and therefore less known by the inhabitants. It is possible, then, that the average Athenian would have known that lions have amber eyes, but I doubt whether he would have been familiar with the eyes of monkeys. On the whole, therefore, I favour an interpretation of χαροποί which refers to the animals' skin.

Indeed, the soothsayer's hesitation will only make simple and immediate sense to laymen who may have seen one or two lions and monkeys, but were unfamiliar with the finer details of their physiology, if their coats—their most obviously noticeable coloured feature—were more or less the same colour. Now, monkeys probably entered Athens through Piraeus, brought by traders from North Africa.[129] This being so, the most likely candidate for identification with Aristophanes's animal is the Barbary ape (*Macaca sylvana*). Its characteristic colour is yellowish or olive brown on the back, with lighter shades of the same on the stomach,[130] colours (particularly the former) which coincide with the usual meaning of χαροπός in prose.

Asclepiades

(i) Of Samos. Date: floruit 290 B.C.

(ii) *A.G.*

5.153.3 The χαροπαί lightnings of Cleophon's sweet eye withered Nicarete's pretty face.

5.209.2 Cleandros saw Nico swimming in the χαροποῖς waves.

Commentary

Examination of χαροπός in prose has established that its normal meaning is *amber/light brown*. In consequence, one is faced with a problem in explaining how χαροπός came to be applied to the sea. Before I begin what will be an extended and somewhat complex attempt to explain it, I must reiterate one very important point. Greek has many words which describe gleaming, shining, sparkling, and so on. It does not make sense to presume that two of them, in some arbitrary fashion, became associated with *light blue* and *amber*. The opposite is possible and understandable, but a colour-term must have begun life as a colour-term. Secondly, a colour-term's *first* application in a new sense is the one which needs most explanation. Thereafter, imitation or further development will account for its use in what may seem to be unusual contexts. In the case of χαροπός, therefore, it is one's business to ask, why did Asclepiades in particular use χαροπός to describe the sea?[131]

The reason will be found in his psychology. He and Poseidippos are often linked in the *Anthology*, and a number of poems is assigned to both.[132] But their characters were entirely different as can be seen from their personal poems which appear mainly in Books 5 and 12. Poseidippos is a philosopher who makes love usually when he is drunk (12.120). He enjoys parties and drinking (5.134, 183, 211, 213; 12.168), but is not in the least romantic. "Don't try to deceive me with your tears," he said to one woman. "You're absolutely devoted to me as long as I'm here, but you'd say the same to any other man who was in your bed," (5.186). His term for love is 'bitter-sweet' (γλυκύπικρος ἔρως),[133] a phrase he uses, typically enough, in the middle of a drinking-picnic (5.134).

Asclepiades, on the other hand, took love very seriously, and it seems clear from his epigrams that his relationships with other people were highly emotional and generally frustrating. It is worth listing the themes of his personal poems.

(a) 5.7 A girl was supposed to come but she has not arrived. Asclepiades presumes she will have another lover at home, and bids his lamp plunge them into darkness.

(b) 5.64 Asclepiades is suffering from jealousy. A girl will not receive him, and so he invokes storms and darkness. He is perhaps thinking of trying to bribe his way in to her.

(c) 5.85 He addresses a virgin, trying to persuade her to sleep with him. Love is for the living; after death we are bones and ashes.

(d) 5.145 Asclepiades has been crying because a blond man will not see him. He hangs tear-drenched garlands on the man's door, hoping that these tears will 'shed his rain on his head.'

(e) 5.150 A girl has not arrived. Asclepiades orders his lamp to be extinguished.

(f) 5.153 Nicarete is withered by the lightning blasts of Cleophon's eye. The lightnings are χαροπαί because his eyes are that colour.

(g) 5.158 Asclepiades once slept with Hermione who has many lovers.

(h) 5.162 He has had an emotionally disturbing experience with a prostitute.

(i) 5.164 Pythias, who already has a lover, has invited Asclepiades to visit her but has not admitted him. He calls on Night, and hopes for revenge.

(j) 5.167 Asclepiades was drunk, wet, and cold. He waited outside a boy's door but was not admitted.

(k) 5.189 Asclepiades wanders outside a woman's door, drenched by rain, but is not admitted.

(l) 5.207 Asclepiades expresses his hatred of two lesbians who, it is implied, are happy in their love affair.

(m) 5.210 Asclepiades has fallen in love with a dark woman.

[I have omitted, for the time being, 5.203 and 209 because they require extended treatment which is better given after discussion of the other poems].[134]

(n) 12.46 Asclepiades is not yet twenty-two years old, but is a prey to suicidal depression because he is unsuccessful in love.

(o) 12.50 A mood of deep self-pity; he intends to become drunk.

(p) 12.125 Nicagoras was drunk and, in maudlin tearful mood, betrayed that he was in love.

(q) 12.153 A girl complains that Archeades no longer looks at her when he is making love.

(r) 12.161 A prostitute who dresses like a young man.

(s) 12.162 Eros, a tiny child, reports to his mother that Philocrates has managed to win the love of Antigenes.

(t) 12.163 Two beautiful boys, one black, the other white-skinned.

(u) 12.166 Asclepiades pleads that the Loves will cease destroying him.

Already it is clear that Asclepiades was incapable of conducting a successful and happy love affair, but further analysis of the epigrams reveals not only why he did not but also why he could not manage a successful relationship, even if one were made possible.

(a) Heraclea, the woman, has sworn three times, calling Asclepiades's bedside lamp to witness, that she will come again. Swearing three times was a solemn promise which she failed to keep.[135] Asclepiades suspects that she prefers someone else. He urges *his* lamp to extinguish itself and provide light no longer.

Why should he ask his own lamp to go out and furnish no more light; and for whom is that light provided? Gow and Page have discussed this difficulty and offer two solutions. Lamps help each other, and so Asclepiades's lamp may control the behaviour of another: Asclepiades is waiting for Heraclea in a room which she uses only for assignations.[136] Neither solution is very satisfactory. M. Marcovich proposed another—that there were two lamps, one belonging to Asclepiades, the other to Heraclea, which were suddenly conflated into a single god Λύχνος and it is this lamp who is asked to extinguish his light.[137] This thesis, however, has been rightly criticised by G. Giangrande as unlikely and untenable. Giangrande himself sticks to the fact of a single lamp, and revives the notion of an 'accommodation address' maintained by Heraclea for her business as a prostitute, and in which Asclepiades is waiting for her in vain.[138]

This interpretation depends on understanding ἔνδον to mean *here, in this place*, which is to stretch it quite beyond its normal meaning, *within* or *at home*.[139] I think, however, that there is no need to do this, since the most significant fact about the lamp is that Asclepiades can see it and talk to it. Now, many lamps carried erotic scenes or were shaped like phalloi, and often the lamp

represents the rejected lover as a voyeur of his mistress's new (or different) amours.[140] In 5.165, for example, Meleager hoped that if Heliodora had taken a lover, he would fall asleep without making love to her—"let the lamp close its eyes." The eye was, for the Greeks, conventionally the seat of love[141] and a symbol of the penis.[142] Thus, in closing its eyes, the lamp/penis is unable to function; the sexual act becomes impossible. What Meleager was wishing on his rival was impotence.

Epigram 5.8 is also significant. Meleager there addressed his own lamp, complaining that oaths of fidelity (this time made by a boy) had been broken, and said, "σὺ δ' ἐν κόλποις αὐτὸν ὁρᾷς ἑτέρων," you *are watching* him in the laps of others. The situation is the same as that of Asclepiades. A lamp which is present is able to see events taking place elsewhere. This makes sense if the lamp represents Meleager's penis/libido which is a spectator of the jealousy-fantasies imagined by Meleager himself. Meleager, in fact, is a spectator of himself watching other people. What exacerbates his feelings of jealousy and so helps to produce a bitterly vivid fantasy is the idea that the boy may be having sexual relations with women, κόλπος being a well-known euphemism for the vagina.[143]

In 5.7, light is "provided" (πάρεχε) for Heraclea and her new lover. It represents Asclepiades himself, watching their love-play (παίζῃ) in a state of sexual excitement[144] which will be terminated by the light's being extinguished (ἀποσβεσθεὶς)[145] so that Asclepiades can no longer (μηκέτι) see what they are doing. Why should Asclepiades suppose that lack of light will put an end to their love-making? Partly because what he can no longer see will no longer exist *for him*, but mainly because the extinguishing of *his* lamp (= detumescence) will put an end to *his* love-making. In other words, his masturbation fantasy will come to an end.

The petulant cry of "but you promised!", followed by a wish to hurt someone—aggression against the woman which uses his own pain as a means of sexual fantasising, and his own sexual activity as a weapon to destroy hers—create an extraordinarily vivid picture of a man emotionally retarded, stuck fast at the age of emotional fixation upon his mother, and violently aggressive if gratification of his emotions is thwarted.[146]

(b) Asclepiades's exaggerated emotionalism can be seen clearly in his invocation of storms and violent weather to symbolise his present frustration. Snow and hail, two white substances, are to

create darkness; thunder is to set alight all its dark ever-changing clouds (πορφύροντ', comprehending both meanings) on earth. Nature, in other words, is urged, in language reminiscent of tragic diction, to act paradoxically. W.G. Arnott has pointed out several examples of Asclepiades's use of literary allusion, and suggests Aeschylus, *P.V.* 1043 sq. as a precedent for this particular passage.[147]

Prometheus invokes natural violence both as a means of relieving his physical and mental sufferings and as a protest against the ineluctable judgment of Zeus. The reaction of Hermes is to wonder if Prometheus is insane. "Such are the thoughts and words one hears from those who have been driven mad (φρενοπλήκτων). In what way does his prayer fall short of being delirious (παραπαίειν)? What remission is there of his mania?" (μανιῶν)[148]

Since Asclepiades applies the same kind of language to his own predicament, making a fairly obvious literary allusion, he should have expected his reader to remember the reaction of Hermes and to have the same reaction himself. Asclepiades's wild talk of death (ἤν γάρ με κτείνῃς), however, is the opposite of Prometheus's reaction. Prometheus proclaims defiantly that, no matter what Zeus does, he will never succeed in killing him (πάντως ἐμέ γ' οὐ θανατώσει). Asclepiades's childish death-wish, which he indulges elsewhere in other epigrams, without any sense of rhetorical exaggeration [for example, 12.46; 12.50; and cf. 12.166] indicates that he is quite unaware here of the effect of his heightened language. He seems to be perfectly serious in seeing himself as a kind of Promethean figure unjustly tortured by a power he cannot resist, and yet oblivious to the probability that his reader will wonder (as Hermes did) if such emotionalism is not a sign of growing dementia. Now, it is true that love = madness was a cliché of epigrammatists, but the psychological tone of Asclepiades's poem, as I shall explain, is not one over which the author has control, (i.e. it is not ironic or cynical), but a true indication of his mental state at the time of writing.

The anticlimax which follows—what will Asclepiades do if he lives through the cataclysm? He will burst into merry-making and go to the woman's house with music—would show that Asclepiades's previous rhetoric was a controlled literary device leading to an amusing bathos only if the new humorous mood were sustained. But there is no mood of amusement at all. Asclepiades says 'κομάσομαι', a verb meaning not only *to be a reveller* but also *to*

burst in upon someone.[149] The implication is that the woman's door is locked against him, a rejection of his advances which accounts for the self-destructive mood of earlier verses. Asclepiades may be hoping to bribe his way into her bed, since he mentions Zeus and the shower of gold which seduced Danae. But if bribery does not work, he may prefer to rape her. Notice that Zeus 'plunged through' (ἔδυς) the brazen chambers, a remarkable violent word, suggesting rape.[150]

Indeed, I think it is clear that rape is what Asclepiades has in mind, or rather, is contemplating in his fantasy, because he projects upon Zeus his own hidden wishes. "Zeus compels me", he says; ἕλκει = dragging, as though an unwilling object. Asclepiades is highly disturbed by these fantasy-desires, (hence his invocation to Nature to behave in an *unnatural* fashion), and seeks to excuse them by telling himself, "a god made me do it."[151]

That he identifies himself first with Prometheus then with Zeus is not surprising. It is the natural reaction of a victim to fantasise himself into the position of an aggressor, so that he can inflict imaginary punishment upon the real author of his misery. Here, Asclepiades has been turned into a victim by a woman. He imagines himself as Prometheus, the image consequently suggesting a fantasy-aggressor who can bear the weight of Asclepiades's own feelings of hostility. Thus, he identifies himself with Zeus-as-rapist in order to imagine his revenge on the woman who, in reality, is making him a victim. Clearly the psychology is similar to that of (a)—childish fantasising accompanied by uncontrolled aggression attendant upon the thwarting of immediate emotional gratification.

(c) This could be almost a conventional plea—*carpe diem*—except for one or two points which are worth noticing. The epigram begins, "φείδῃ παρθενίης," suggesting a war in which the girl's virginity has been spared so far. It has not been 'killed.' This unspoken idea of death leads Asclepiades to picture *the girl alone* going to Hades. "You will not find anyone there to be your lover," he says. But notice that οὐ is placed as far away as possible from εὑρήσεις. Indeed, the second line reads like a positive statement —ἐλθοῦσ' εὑρήσεις τὸν φιλέοντα, κόρη—which is what Asclepiades himself wants.

This is followed by "ἐν ζωοῖσι τὰ τερπνὰ τὰ Κύπριδος," another positive statement of his desire. But then comes a quite remarkable development of the idea. "In Acheron, bones and ashes, o virgin,

we shall lie." It appears that his desire for her will not be achieved in this life and he will only be able to 'lie with' her when the sexual act is impossible, a fear indicated not only by his identification of himself and the girl with bones and ashes, but by his placing παρθένε next to κεισόμεθα. They may lie together, but the girl will remain a virgin.

(d) The points of interest in this epigram lie in the last three verses. Asclepiades has watered garlands with his tears because lovers weep a good deal.

> ἀλλ', ὅταν οἰγομένης αὐτὸν ἴδητε θύρης,
> στάξαθ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐμὸν ὑετόν, ὡς ἂν †ἄμεινον
> ἡ ξανθή γε κόμη τἀμὰ πίῃ δάκρυα.

"But when the door has been opened and you (the garlands) see him, sprinkle over his head my heavy downpour so that at least his ξανθή hair may drink my tears."

Almost literally translated thus, the lines suggest a masturbation fantasy. The garlands can only sprinkle a man's head if he wears them, and inserting the head into the circular garland is an obvious symbol of intercourse, in this case, since two men are involved, a tergo. The garlands stand for Asclepiades, the passive partner in this fantasy,—an appropriate symbol, because the garland usually stood for a female prostitute.[152] Again it appears that Asclepiades sees himself as a victim and, as the man can wear only one garland at a time, Asclepiades's plural suggests that he imagines the act will take place more than once.

But then, as we have noticed happening before, Asclepiades turns from being victim into aggressor. Στάξατε means *letting fall a small amount of liquid, drop by drop,*[153] (here = orgasm). The liquid is to fall on top of (ὑπέρ) the man's head, so the fantasy cannot have become one of fellatio. Rather, the man's head is well below the level of Asclepiades's penis in an attitude of total submission. Asclepiades sees himself as towering over the man, his own virility dominant. Notice, "ἐμὸν ὑετόν," heavy rain, a continuous soaking shower,[154] which refers to Asclepiades's orgasm. His fantasy makes him particularly potent. The man's ξανθή hair drinks (πίῃ) these tears because Asclepiades, now in the dominant role, has cast the man as the passive 'female' who is to be fertilised by his shower of rain, just as a field of wheat is quickened by the downpours of Zeus.[155]

(e) Arnott has pointed out the ambiguity of ἐπιβόητος which describes Nico the prostitute.[156] Once again, a woman has renegued a solemn promise, so we realise that ἐπιβόητος means first that Asclepiades was full of high hopes for the encounter and predisposed to speak well of her, but then comprehended she was not going to come, and so fell to speaking ill. Τὸν λύχνον, παῖδες, ἀποσβέσατε should be taken literally. Asclepiades has not the sort of humour which will shrug its shoulders at the loss of a woman and invite boys/slaves to take her place. Poseidippos might do such a thing, but Asclepiades is more likely to have wished for darkness to hide his chagrin. Certainly, the abrupt change from 'interior dialogue' to this sudden vocal command is startling enough to indicate that Asclepiades is in no mood to take his disappointment lightly.

(f) The lightnings from Cleiphon's eye (βλέμματος, singular) actively wither Nicarete's face. In sexual-fantasy terms, Cleophon's erect penis[157] obliterates Nicarete as an individual. She is no longer recognisable, since her features have been destroyed by a series of 'lightning-flashes' (ἀστεροπαί).[158] The notion is highly aggressive since Asclepiades obviously identifies himself with Cleophon. Nicarete's love is doomed to failure. Her face, we are told, is πόθοισι βεβλημένον[159]—struck by longings (as though they were missiles hurled against an enemy). Πόθος tends to indicate longing which can never quite be satisfied,[160] so it is not only Cleophon who destroys her; it is her own longing which strikes her in the face.

(g) "I once played around with πιθανῇ Hermione." The epithet πιθανή is surprising, as Gow and Page remark, (*op.cit.* 120) but only if one forgets Asclepiades's attitude towards women. He finds them intimidating to the extent that if he feels himself rejected by them, he is likely to revert to fantasies in which he can play both a dominant and a retributive role. Sometimes, however, he prefers to imagine the women as completely dominant in a fantasy which will dwell on the emotional pain he dislikes but indulges.

Πιθανός means *persuasive, plausible*, both in speech and manners, *docile*, and *producing the illusion of being realistic*.[161] The real Hermione, of course, did not wear a belt embroidered with a message for her lovers. This Hermione is an image created by Asclepiades—hence πιθανός. His imaginary woman desired *him*, *she* enticed *him* to make love to *her*. Notice that Asclepiades cannot quite bring himself to say he took an active role. He συνέπαιζον, "played around with her".

She, on the other hand, was sexually dominant. She has (ἐχούσῃ) a belt which had (ἔχον) letters which spoke of *someone else having her*, (ἤν τις ἔχῃ μ'ἕτερος). The repetition of ἔχειν is significant.[162] Her message was "love me, but don't be distressed or pained if someone else actually has physical intercourse with me."

Pain and distress are exactly what such sights do cause him (cf. 5.64), but his advice to himself, (because the message on the belt can only be a manifestation of his own voice), is to remain calm in the face of the fact that women do not want him as a lover—or rather, in the face of his deep self-conviction that it is a fact.[163]

(h) Philaenion is another whore. She is λαμυρή—gluttonous, greedy, coquettish, charming, (the word can mean all these), but above all, poisonous. Her 'bite' is death. E.K. Borthwick has already discussed this epigram, pointing out the many comparisons of prostitutes with men-devouring monsters made by the Greeks and Romans.[164] It is Asclepiades's allusion to the ἔχιδνα which is particularly significant for, as Borthwick says, "the most notorious belief about the echidna in antiquity was that the female bit the male to death in the act of mating," (*op.cit.* 250). This predatory female is a common figure in Asclepiades's poetry; indeed, it is an image which almost obsesses him, and here, in these verses, we have one of the clearest images of his predominant neurosis.

Its details are borrowed from Nicander's description of the asp and the effects of its bite.[165] "No bite appears on the flesh, no deadly swelling with inflammation, but the man dies without pain, and a slumberous lethargy brings the end of life," (187-9). Asclepiades, however, has transferred these effects from the bite of the *asp* to the bite of the *viper* whose poison actually produces a very different reaction.[166] This is because he is not describing a real snake but a prostitute, and she was an ἔχιδνα, not an ἀσπίς.

In one respect, however, the symptoms of his bite do resemble those of a man poisoned by the echidna. "The pain," he says, "reaches to my finger-nail." This reminds one of Nicander; a man bitten by an echidna "is seized with cold from the finger-tips."[167] All sensation is lost and the symptom is one of many which foretell the onset of death. Asclepiades refers, not to the finger-nails (as he could have done; the metre does not prevent it) but to a single nail—εἰς ὄνυχα—which is probably significant, as he goes on to indicate that the effect of the prostitute's 'bite' upon him was to make him impotent. Nail, therefore = finger = penis.[168]

The disaster struck him while he was half-asleep (νυστάζων). Given the common Greek identification of the eyes as the seat of love, and their equally obvious symbolisation of the testicles,[169] 'half-asleep' must imply that Asclepiades was not fully able to satisfy the woman's appetite. He was half-impotent anyway as he mounted/set 'foot' on her (ἐπέβην). Ἐπιβαίνω is a remarkably vivid account of sexual aggression; I mount, I attack, I assault.[170] The primary sense, *I set foot on*, draws attention to the foot as penis,[171] so the implication of νυστάζων is reinforced.

Moreover, the aggression comes in the right place. Unable to achieve a proper erection, Asclepiades redoubles his efforts in a violent attempt which succeeds only in arousing the prostitute's own aggression. As an ἔχιδνα she herself becomes a penis-symbol and attacks *him* in a reversal of roles we have seen in Asclepiades before, except that here Asclepiades begins as the aggressor and ends as the victim *in fantasy* as well as in reality. Philaenion assumes the virility Asclepiades is unable to attain and 'bites' him to death. In other words, she treats him as a woman who is being deflowered.[172] His 'defloration', however, consists of losing, not his virginity but his potency. Death = impotence is a very common image[173] and is here combined with Asclepiades's complete annihilation as an individual, οἴχομαι, ὄλωλα, διοίχομαι.[174]

Such total disappearance refers one back to the original image of Philaenion—λαμυρή, *greedy*, the very word for the terrifying echidna which devours the male in the course of mating.[175]

(i) Another deception poem. The woman led him on, (he was οὐκ ἄκλητος—notice the double negative; he was not invited with any degree of enthusiasm), but has now rejected him as a lover. He has a successful rival, of course. The woman is denoted as the possession of someone else—Πυθιάς ἡ Νικοῦς.[176]

(j) The epigram is corrupt, but there is no reason to disagree with the conclusion of Gow and Page that Asclepiades has come wet, drunk, cold, and alone to the door of a boy, Moschus, who refuses to admit him—a recurrent theme in Asclepiades's poetry.[177]

(k) A variation on the same theme.

(l) Since Asclepiades is unable to have successful intercourse with women, his comments on two contented lesbians are obviously bitter. Aphrodite, here substituted for himself, is asked to hate the women who are seen as running away—(αὐτομολοῦσιν, changing sides in a war; φυγάδας, going into exile, fleeing in the opposite

direction). They are not deserting the real Aphrodite, of course, because they are successfully making love. It is the false Aphrodite who hates them, Asclepiades himself, from whom they are running.

Notice that, in his jealousy, he cannot bring himself to say clearly what they do with each other. Instead, he uses a prim little phrase, "things which are not nice," (ἃ μὴ καλά). There may also be added irritation in their being Samian women, since he himself came from Samos. Even his own country-women reject him and prefer the embraces of their own sex to his.

(m) Didyme "waved a branch" at him.[178] According to Plato, people used to lead hungry animals by shaking in front of them a branch of leaves or some fruit, (*Phaedrus* 230d), so we have here a picture of Asclepiades's being enticed by a woman as though he were an animal. He feels this to be a kind of rape,[179] and the result is loss of identity once again. He melts, like wax in front of a fire.

Didyme is a negress.[180] Like a lump of coal, she can be set on fire, but when she is aflame apparently the man is destroyed. The initial action is undertaken together (θάλψωμεν—when *we* warm them), but thereafter the woman becomes dominant. Her 'coals' shine like the calyxes of roses; that is, her pudenda open out and glisten, their red showing vividly because the surrounding skin is black.[181] Inevitably, however, since Didyme is a negress, the image can apply equally well to her lips, parted and glistening as she opens her mouth. The latent image, therefore, is of a predatory female who is seeking to devour him.[182]

(n) Asclepiades reveals that he is only twenty-one years old, yet suffers from an adolescent mood of self-pitying suicidal depression because he is unsuccessful in love.

(o) A mood of self-pity again. He intends to become drunk. Notice σχέτλιε which he applies to himself. The word may have overtones of contempt, (cf. Sophocles: *Philoctetes* 930; Euripides: *Alcestis* 824; Herodotus: 3.155), or of self-pity, (cf. Euripides: *Andromache* 1179; Sophocles: *Philoctetes* 369).

(p) Nicagoras was drunk and, in maudlin tearful mood, betrayed that he was in love.

(q) The poem is unusual in taking the part and voice of a girl rejected in love. It is the first couplet which I find of particular interest. "Before, Archeades used to rub (himself) against me, (πρόσθε μοι ἐθλίβετο), but now not even during foreplay (παίζων) does he turn himself (or his attention) towards me (εἰς ἐμ' ἐπιστρέφεται)." Θλίβω is

a very explicit word; *I squeeze, I chafe.* It is not very comfortable, as its secondary meanings include notions of compression, distress, pressure,[183] so that the act of love must have been oppressively, almost suffocatingly, close.[184]

The contrast comes in the next verse. "Now, *even during foreplay*, he does not look at me." There is only one way in which Archeades can avoid turning himself right round (ἐπιστρέφεται) to place himself in her field of vision, and that is by making love to her from behind, in the a tergo position which was common among the Greeks.[185] The positions of yesterday and today (πρόσθε ... νῦν) are thus completely reversed. As far as Archeades is concerned, I notice one or two interesting points. Apparently the *man* found ventro-ventral coitus so oppressive that he decided he could no longer face it (quite literally) and therefore put himself into a position in which he could dominate the woman sexually without being the object of any reciprocal love-making. Such a position reduces the woman to a passive sex-object and ensures that the man is in no danger of being 'eaten' (for example, by kissing). Normally, one would regard the a tergo position as simply another among many. In a poem by Asclepiades, however, it assumes a much greater significance.[186] Notice, moreover, that although the poem is ostensibly spoken by the girl, the man is its subject and succeeds in turning the girl into his object, Archeades 'standing for' Asclepiades.

(r) The epigram wants two verses, but sufficient remains to provide the portrait of an unusual prostitute who entices youths of about eighteen by dressing as a boy very much younger (ἁπαλὸς παῖς). Now, the Spartans had a custom which assisted the adolescent youth to cross the sexual border from homo- to heterosexuality: Spartan brides had their hair cut short and were dressed like men.[187] So Dorcion's device may represent another attempt to provide a 'specialised' service to nervous, youthful clients. There is no indication that this epigram is autobiographical, but Asclepiades was only 21 and, as we know, exhibits many of the distressing features of a delayed adolescence. In such a case, therefore, memories of a real person are not necessarily out of the question.

(s) A poem probably intended as a compliment to the child Diaulos and not meant to be erotic. See Gow and Page ad locum.

(t) As Gow and Page indicate, the exact meaning of the poem is obscure. A series of contrasts is made, intended to show that Cleander and Eubiotos are not in contrast but in harmony. It is

possible that the contrasting pairs of adjectives refer to certain physical features of the two boys, for example, (i) green eyes and light brown,[188] (ii) a fair complexion and a very dark, (iii) light hair and dark. If this is so, we have a picture of the two boys whose several parts may be in contrast but whose contrasts add up to a pleasing and harmonious whole.

(u) Asclepiades begs the Erotes, in broken exclamatory verse, to cease torturing him, or to destroy him completely "with thunderbolts" (κεραυνοῖς), a desire for personal obliteration we have noticed before as a theme of his poetry. He is dried up, he says, (ἐνεσκληκώς) by a number of distressing incidents (ἀνίαις), his metaphor being derived from the pain caused by the destruction of muscles by heat or inflammation[189] and the cries of grief and distress arising from physical and mental suffering, of which perhaps Sappho provides the most apposite illustration; "[Aphrodite] ... do not overwhelm me with bouts of nausea/longings, and distress which makes one cry out (ὀνίαισι)."[190]

We are now in a position to discuss the two epigrams 5.202 and 203. The first is ascribed to Asclepiades or to Poseidippos, the second to Asclepiades alone. It should now be quite clear that 202 belongs to Poseidippos. Here is a translation of it.

"Plango dedicated on the portals of the equestrian god her πορφυρέην whip and her polished reins, after winning as a jockey her race with Philaenis, her practised rival, when the horses of the evening had just begun to neigh. Dear Cypris, give her unquestioned glory for her victory, establishing for her this favour which will always be remembered."

'Horse-riding' was a common term for sexual intercourse,[191] so Plango is dedicating in a temple the tools of her rather specialised trade.[192] There is no particular suggestion of violence or morbidity about the epigram. Indeed, the tone is light-hearted; it finds the idea rather a joke. Such a tone, as we have seen above, fits Poseidippos but certainly not Asclepiades.

The difference can be seen at once in 203. There is no mention of a whip, it is true. Instead, Lysidice dedicates her ox-goad (μύωπα) which is the golden goad of her foot (χρύσεον κέντρον πόδος), with which she trained/rode naked (ἐγύμνασεν) many a horse *laid on its back* (ὕπτιον ἱππόν). Her own thighs were not reddened (ἐφοινίχθη). She did not not need to use a (real) spur (ἀκέντητος) and so hung up her golden weapon (χρύσεον ὅπλον).

The imagery is entirely of masculine sexuality conceived as a violent, pain-inducing penis—yet it is wielded by a woman. The man-horse is flat on his back with the woman in the dominant position (*coitus inversus*).[193] Μύωψ is not just *goad* but also *rut*,[194] an indication of Lysidice's sexual heat which is identified with her golden foot/penis.[195] She is left unmoved by the encounter, (ἀκέντητος = unpricked, flawless, needing no spur), because she is in complete control of it. Her feelings are not involved. Indeed, neither is her vagina, for no penetration by the man takes place. "Her thighs are not reddened," as they would be if she were a virgin, (which is what the ἀκέντητος suggests). It is *she* who is doing the deflowering with her array of weapons: she is causing *him* to bleed as though he were a virgin.

Need one point out further, then, that this poem must be by Asclepiades? It bears every indication of his morbid and neurotic personality and is perhaps one of the clearest statements of his psychological condition.

Finally, I come to 5.209, ascribed to both Asclepiades and Poseidippos, but which I take to belong unmistakably to Asclepiades.

"By your shore, Cythereia of Paphos, Cleandros saw Nico swimming in the χαροποῖς waves. Set on fire by Eros, he took to his heart dry coals from the wet child (παιδός). He standing on land was shipwrecked, but the friendly beaches received her as she was striking the sea, (θαλάσσης ψαύουσαν). Now each has an equal longing (πόθος) for love, for the prayers he uttered on that beach were not in vain."

Two words immediately strike one as significant; παιδός and πόθος. The latter can mean *love* or *desire*, but its principal associations are those of longing for the unattainable—Alexander the Great's πόθος is the most famous example—or regret for something which is absent.[196] A παῖς was too young to have sexual feelings; she represents innocent desire. Cleandros/Asclepiades is smitten by sexual desire for her (καιόμενος ὑπ' Ἔρωτος) thought it is a passion unlikely to be consummated.

Now, the sea is a well-known symbol of the mother,[197] and I take it to be fairly clear that Asclepiades was frightened of and aggressive towards women because of his latent and unresolved desire for his mother. His view of women, particularly of prostitutes, as aggressively masculine in behaviour towards him shows that, for him, the equation female = phallos was a real and deep-seated fixation.

One colour in particular occurs several times in his verses, golden or light-brown. Epigram 203 stresses the golden colour of Lysidice's leg-weapon. In the buggery-masturbation fantasy (5.145) the young man's hair upon which Asclepiades is 'sprinkling his tears' is yellow-brown (ξανθή). The colour obviously had deep personal significance for him, and one can discover why by turning to colour-psychology for an answer. Colour tests carried out over a long period of time by the Swiss psychologist Max Lüscher, and developed into a theory of colour psychology, indicate that when yellow is a subject's preferred colour, it shows a desire to be released from some major conflict which is troubling him. There is a strong need to escape from present difficulties, often sexual in origin, and find release in emotional contentment. A preference for brown indicates that the subject is seeking physical ease and sensual contentment because his present situation affords neither.[198] A combination of these factors is applicable, at least in some measure, to Asclepiades, and provides some further confirmation of his neuroses, as well as reasons for his finding χαροπός—ξανθός—χρύσεος a significant colour-range.

Θαλάσσης ψαύουσαν = *touch an enemy, lay hands upon.*[199] The child, under the age of full sexual development, is not in league with the sea, but literally 'striking' for the shore. Her name, Nico, indicates a victory over that dangerous element. Cleandros/Asclepiades conceives a desire for the child, but is destroyed—"shipwrecked while still on land." An innocent child may have the power to captivate him but when she does, the sea-mother obliterates him, for it is the sea, of course, which actually causes real shipwrecks. Asclepiades finds this self-annihilation unavoidable, as we have noticed. No matter what the relationship he tries to form with someone else, it proves destructive after a very short time. It is not surprising, then, that he calles the sea χαροπός. The sea is the source of his frustration and neurosis, and therefore it is most appropriate that he projects upon it the colour which signifies his longing to be free of its destructive power.[200] Moreover, in terms of Freudian analysis, the penis and vagina are organs of both procreation and excretion. For someone like Asclepiades who appears to be anally fixated, the sea/mother = the vagina which not only procreates but excretes, and the golden sea is therefore the urinary sea, because to the neurotic sex is not normal but dirty.[201]

What does the child Victory stand for? His own innocence? [It will be remembered that Asclepiades usually identifies himself first with the female role in love]. The two are united in a mutual longing, regret for love (πόθος φιλίης), a yearning for affection which is never attainable. Such a poem was certainly written by no one other than Asclepiades.

The 'amber waves' passed quickly into regular poetic diction. For Asclepiades they had signified a deep longing for release from sexual tension. To other poets their alliteration was a special attraction, (χαροποῖς κύμασι). Greek poetry is full of this effect, the basis of which has been well explained by G. Devereux. "Given the affinities of poetry ... with music, it stands to reason that the poet will choose words not only on the basis of their conceptual content, but also on that of their *acoustic* kinship with other words whose *meaning* has certain *conceptual* affinities with that of the word he actually selects," (his italics).[202] One is struck by Asclepiades's obvious yearning for personal happiness, which suggests that underlying χαροποῖς may be χαροποιοῖς—a play on concepts emphasised by the alliterative poetic effect.[203]

For other poets,[204] the attraction of the phrase lay not only in its alliteration but in the startling novelty of the image. Hellenistic poets could indulge in what R. Renehan has called "whimsy, pure and simple," in the coinage of new words and phrases.[205] But nearly two hundred years elapsed between Asclepiades, who provides the first example of the phrase, and Meleager who provides the second, and it is impossible to say by what degrees the shock of the new had worn off by Meleager's time.[206]

Bianor

(i) Date: first century B.C. - first century A.D.

(ii) *A.G.*

10.22.2 Fowler in search of reeds, do not move in the forest paths of Egypt with naked foot, but flee far away from χαροπῶν snakes.

Commentary

The most obvious candidate for this snake is the Egyptian cobra (*Naja haje*) which is light brown in colour and fairly dangerous.[207]

S.A. and M.R. Minton are of the opinion that the Egyptian cobra was probably the Classical asp and therefore the snake which killed Cleopatra.[208] In his Loeb edition (1918), W.R. Paton translated χαροπῶν as 'grey-eyed'. I question the accuracy of this for two reasons. First, I doubt if it is very useful to warn a man to be on the look-out for the colour of snakes' eyes since, in the flurry of his being attacked, he is unlikely to notice whether the snake is green-eyed, or brown, or grey. The injunction to flee suggests precipitate action, presumably on the grounds that the snake is dangerous and attacks with speed. Secondly, the Egyptian cobra does not have grey eyes. In snakes, the epithelium of the iris is heavily pigmented, white and yellow pigment often lying above the black. In consequence, their eyes are usually 'black' or brownish-yellow.[209]

Hesiod

(i) Date: c. 700 B.C.

(ii) *Theogony.*

321 [One of Chimaera's heads], of a χαροποῖο lion.

Scutum

177 [On the shield]. Vicious (?) boars and χαροποί lions.[210]

Homer

(i) Date: not known.

(ii) *Odyssey.*

11.611 [Heracles's baldric], on which were fashioned wonderful things ... χαροποί lions.

Commentary

This is part of the golden baldric made for Heracles who was sometimes described as χαροπός.[211] It is possible that the lions had precious or semi-precious stones for eyes, which were χαροποί in allusion to those of their owner.[212] Homer had just drawn particular attention to the eyes of Heracles—δεινὸν παπταίνων, αἰεὶ βαλέοντι ἐοικώς (608)—and later tradition suggested that they were χαροποί. In any case, as I have pointed out before, lions themselves have amber-coloured eyes.[213]

Hymni Homerici

(i) Date: sixth century B.C.

(ii) *Hymn to Hermes* (4).

194 Four χαροποί dogs followed the cows, like men, all of one mind.[214]

569 [Zeus] commanded that glorious Hermes be lord over all birds of omen and χαροποῖσι lions.

Hymn to Aphrodite (5).

70 After her came πολιοί, fawning wolves, and χαροποί lions.

Hymn to the Mother of the Gods (14).

4 [She is well pleased] with the baying of wolves and χαροπῶν lions.

Inscriptiones Graecae

(i) From Epidaurus. Date: second century A.D.?

(ii) 4^1 (editio minor).131.12 Χαροποί lions or πολιοί wolves.[215]

Pseudo-Manetho

(i) Date: uncertain, but probably not before the fifth century A.D.

(ii) *Apotelesmatica.*

2.76 The ξανθήν mane of the χαροποῖο Lion.

2.387 The sun himself above χαποποῖο Lion ...

5.230 [Triune Zeus] first created a big, tall man, with χαρωπόν eyes and eyebrows which met in the middle.

Commentary

A. [2.76] The lion is χαροπός because it is so described in Homer. The phrase had become a cliché. One may still understand it as a reference to the eyes, and there is no difficulty about its being a colour-term applied to a star. The description of the mane as ξανθή shows that pseudo-Manetho had in mind a real lion rather than the constellation itself.[216]

B. [5.230] Pseudo-Manetho's earlier references to χαροπός which are likely to have implied the amber-coloured eyes of a lion, suggest that χαρωπός here should also be taken as a colour-term.[217]

Marcellus Sidetes

(i) Date: second century A.D.

(ii) *De Pastinaca.*

17 The head of χαροπῆς pelamys-fish is better when it has been cooked.

Commentary

According to D'Arcy Thompson, this is the tunny-fish, well-known to Mediterranean fishermen, whose name covers a variety of species.[218] Each member of the family, however, appears to have yellow eyes. The second dorsal fin is coloured a reddish-brown and the anal fin is yellowish. There is also a variety of tunny, (*Thunnus albacares*), which not only has the yellow eyes, but yellow dorsal fins and spines and a distinctive yellow streak on its sides.[219] Any of these characteristics could have given rise to the adjective χαροπός, though I presume it refers, as normal, to the eyes.

Meleager

(i) Of Gadara. Date: floruit 100 B.C.

(ii) *A.G.*

5.154.1 Yes, by Aphrodite who swims in χαροποῖς waves[220]...

12.53.4 [Merchant ships], if you happen to see Phanion on the beach of Cos, gazing out at the χαροπόν sea,[221] give her this message.

Dubia lectio.

5.156.1 Asclepias, who is most loving, with †χαροποῖς[222] eyes like a calm sea, persuades everyone to sail upon love.

Mesomedes

(i) Date: second century A.D.

(ii) *Hymn to Nemesis.*

8 Under your ever-moving wheel, the χαροπά fate of men is turned around.

Commentary

The *Hymn* uses two other colour-terms. Nemesis is the κυανῶπι daughter of Dike (2) and envy is μέλανα (6), so it is likely that χαροπά also refers to colour. Vettius Valens, who lived at about the same time as Mesomedes, informs us that τύχη was an astrological term for the Moon.[223] Hence, one may assume that χαροπά here means *yellow* or *amber*.

NONNOS

(i) Date: fifth century A.D.

(ii) *Dionysiaca*.

1.507 Typhoeus bowed his χαροποῖσι eyebrows and shook his locks.

4.187 Artemis, do not be shocked! I shall cross the swell of the χαροπῆς sea.

4.360 The serpent scared away the great company which followed Cadmos, biting one under the chest with its χαροποῖσι jaws.

4.425 [Cadmos] ploughed a battle-breeding furrow in the χαροπῆς earth.

5.363 If only furious bears ... had feasted on the seeming fawn with χαροποῖσιν jaws!

14.260 The Corybantes were busy about the χαροπῆς manger of the panthers.

20.370 While Dionysus was hiding in the χαροποῖς waves ...

40.52 I see a bull lowering his head sideways and stabbing our elephants with χαροπῇσιν horns.[224]

40.307 [On the origins of Tyrian purple]. Once, a dog busy by the sea gobbled up the wonderful lurking fish with his χαροπῇσι jaws.[225]

45.125 The Indian stone, a scintillation (ἀμάρυγμα) of the χαροπῆς sea.

Paraphrasis Sancti Evangelii Joannei.

21.32 [Fish] the lurking dancers of the χαροπῆς brine.

Commentary

A. [1.507] As Rouse pointed out in his Loeb edition (1940), these lines are reminiscent of *Iliad* 1.528—"κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι."

Typhoeus's eyebrows are χαροποί because his hairs are vipers (509) and vipers are χαροπαί in colour.[226]

B. [4.425] "Bright earth" (Rouse); "terre sauvage" (P. Chuvin, Budé 1976). Neither translation is satisfactory because neither is willing to treat χαροπός as a colour-term. The link which joins the various images in the passage dealing with Cadmos, the snake-monster, and the birth of warriors from the serpent's teeth (356 sq.) is the notion of bronze, light brown and shining.

The snake, αἰολόνωτος child of bronze-clad Ares (358, 399), is based upon the cobra, as one can tell from his being hooded (375-6) and poisonous (379 etc.). Cobras are brown—hence the monster's χαροποί jaws (360). Moreover, they look as though they are covered with plated bronze,[227] an appearance they share with vipers to whom Athene likens the crop of warriors born from its teeth (401). From a bronze helmet (422) the teeth are sown in χαροπός earth, and from this spring up the giants. They are obviously likened, in an ambiguous image, both to a crop of corn (light yellow-brown) and to vipers reared on end, swaying in the wind.

Χαροπός earth, then, is part of this colour-sequence and should be translated as such.

C. [5.363] Ἄρκτος refers to the European brown bear (*Ursus arctos arctos*): hence, its jaws are brown.[228] It is possible, too, that Nonnos remembered 4.358-60, since αἰολόνωτος is there followed by χαροποῖσι γενείοις in much the same picture.

D. [14.260] Once again, χαροπός appears as part of a series of yellow-brown images, this time of bronze and gold: bronze helmet (233), golden loincloth (246), golden horn (241), bronze head of thyrsus (245), golden armour (247), golden cups (258), χαροπή manger. It is possible to translate, as Rouse did, "bright manger", but this severs χαροπός from the sequence of which it is obviously intended to be a part.

One may note, too, that χαροπῆς could be a transferred epithet, since it refers to the manger of leopards who have yellow eyes.[229]

E. [45.125] This passage is not as easy to understand as it looks. Rouse's note on the 'Indian stone' said that it was a pearl, but I am not altogether in agreement with this. Pearls commonly have a yellowish gleam[230] which would accord with the normal meaning of χαροπός, but ἀμάρυγμα implies a sudden flashing burst of colour, and pearls cannot be said to sparkle. I suspect that Nonnos had in mind a variety of topaz, in which case χαροπός could mean

either saffron-yellow[231] or light green, the latter topaz being confused often with beryls and sold as a type of aquamarine.[232] Such ambiguity, however, is unlikely because, having used χαροπός in the sense of amber/light brown everywhere else in his work, Nonnos was surely not going to confuse everyone by suddenly making it refer to green.

Additional Note on 37.485.

The new *Lexicon* to Nonnos (Vol. 4 ed. W. Peek, Hildesheim 1975), records πυγμαχίης χαροπῆς, following LΩ. The correct reading is that of g*mk, χαλεπῆς, adopted by Rouse in his Loeb edition. Χαροπός makes no sense in this context. For another example of confusion between χαλεπός and χαροπός, see 4.425 where LΩ have χαροπῆς and g*m χαλεπῆς of the sea.

Oppian of Cilicia

(i) Date: second or third century A.D.

(ii) *Halieutica.*

1.161 When calm quietens the works of the χαροπῆς sea ...

Oppian of Syria

(i) Date: third century A.D.

(ii) *Cynegetica.*

1.303 Parthian [horses] are swifter than Moorish, χαροποί, and very handsome.

1.310 Large-eyed χαροπούς [horses] should be arrayed against χαροποῖσι lions.[233]

1.421 [Breed of dog]. Their eyes are fiery, flashing with χαροπαῖσιν appearance.[234]

2.572 [Dear Muse ... leave] χαροπούς panthers and mischievous cats.

3.114 [Sea creatures which look after their young], the χάροψ γλαῦχος (fish).

3.510 [Hares of various species]. Their eyes flash χαροπόν.[235]

4.113-14 By the banks of the fair-flowing Euphrates, they array χαροπούς, great-hearted horses for the warfare of the hunt; since their χαροποί horses are swiftest in running.

4.162 With his χαροποῖσι eyes [the lion] looks blazing fire.

4.234 [Leopards used to be] χαροπαί women.

Commentary

A. [1.303] Parthia was an area of the Persian Empire which included most of what is now called Khurasān.[236] The term 'Parthian' horses was relatively new in Strabo's day[237] and it is very difficult to know to what breed Oppian was referring. One may note, however, that Bactria, then part of Parthia produced a type of horse which was yellow, like the Pazyryk burial horses.[238] The Turkomans which come from Central Asia, and the Karadagh which are native to neighbouring Armenia,[239] are both generally bay, and one may guess that, as lions are both tawny-coated and amber-eyed, it was considered appropriate to use bay-coated horses with light brown eyes against them.[240]

B. [2.572] Although χαροπός could refer to the animal's coat, it is more likely to describe its eyes, in accordance with usual practice. Leopards, or more specifically here perhaps, Ounces, have yellow-grey coats. Turnbull-Kemp's description of the leopard's eyes indicates their possible variety.

"If [he] watches his cub at the increasing peak of its activity—in the evening or early night—the owner will get the opportunity to see the changing colours reflected from the eyes if they are reflected in the beam of a torch or spotlight ... and find for himself the vast range of colours which can be reflected by one species. At the greater distances his Leopard's eyes may show white, gold, silver, or yellow. As the owner approaches his cub, he will see how the eyes tend to turn to giving a green reflection ... When the beholder is extremely close to the Leopard, the yellow or green reflection may change to a rather grim red."[241]

Oracula Sibyllina

(i) Date: first century B.C.?[242]

(ii)

3.223 Nor the depth of the χαροποῖο sea, Ocean ...

Orphica

(i) Date: fourth century A.D.?[243]

(ii) *Argonautica.*

258 [Orpheus to the Argonauts]. Full of joy (γεγηθότες), drag your ship to the χαροπόν stream.[244]

272 The χαροπόν wave spread itself wide.

459 Over the great gulf of the sea, foam boils over and λεύκαινε the χαροπήν sea.[245]

1267 [Of Charybdis]. The χαροπόν wave roars within.

Fragmenta

4.21 Great mountains tremble, and rivers, and the depth of the πολιῆς, χαροποῖο sea.[246]

63 God produces many heads of living things—of a ram, of a bull, of a snake, of a χαροποῦ lion.[247]

Papyrus Chicaginiensis

(i) Date: second century A.D.

(ii) Col. 111.2 From the χαροποῦ sea.[248]

Papyrus Magicus Parisiensis

(i) Date: fourth century A.D.?

(ii) 2.2790 Or a queen seated upon χαροποῖς bulls.

Commentary

This *Hymn* is number 5 in the Appendix of magical hymns in Abel's collection of *Orphica*, and is dated between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D.[249] A silver plate from the end of the fourth century shows the Moon's chariot drawn by a pair of bulls,[250] and an ivory plaque of about 450 A.D. illustrates the same theme.[251]

The Moon drawn by white bulls was a motif of the Mithraic mysteries[252] and illustration of this suggests that the *Hymn* should be dated towards the beginning of the period indicated supra. The bull slain by Mithras, pictured in the Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere, has light blue eyes[253] but this is not the same as the Moon-Bull. As R. Turcan has said, "la lune est 'taureau' en raison des deux cornes de son croissant,"[254] and as such will have yellow eyes representing the yellow disk of the Moon itself. Hence the Moon's bulls may also be described appropriately as χαροποί.

Poseidippos

(i) Date: floruit 270 B.C.

(ii) *A.G.*

5.209 [Also attributed to Asclepiades, q.v.]

Quintus Smyrnaeus

(i) Date: fourth century A.D.?

(ii) *Ilias.*

10.337 Seated at [Hera's] side were four hand-maidens whom χαροπή Moon bore to the Sun.

12.118 When dawn arose ... and a χαροπή brightness shone through the air ...

Secundus

(i) Date: first century B.C. - first century A.D.

(ii) *A.G.*

9.36.2 [A ship] which had swum so often through the χαροποῖς waves[255]...

Sophocles

(i) Date: c. 496-406 B.C.

(ii) *Philoctetes.*

1146 O feathered creatures and tribes of χαροπῶν beasts ...

Fragmenta. (pseudo-Sophocles).

1025.3 God is One, who made ... the χαροπόν swell of the sea.

Commentary

[Fr. 1025] This is quite obviously not by Sophocles. It appears in pseudo-Justin's *De Monarchia*, a pamphlet designed to prove the truth of monotheism by quoting from pre-Christian Greek authors.[256] Many of its quotations are forgeries; others are genuine but wrenched from their contexts. It may be noted, too, that χαροπός was not used to describe the sea before Asclepiades in the third century B.C.

Theocritus

(i) Date: c. 300-c. 260 B.C.

(ii) *Idylls.*

12.35 Surely he prays long to χαροπόν Ganymede.
25.142 Now Phaethon saw the dry skin of the χαροποῖο lion.[257]
25.225 [The lion's] χαροπόν face and chest were bespattered with gore.

Commentary

[12.35] The image involves essaying for true gold. The winner of a kissing-contest in Megara is described praying to Ganymede for a mouth like the Lydian stone which can tell true gold from false. Ganymede is χαροπός in anticipation of the succeeding χρυσόν since he is here the patron of true 'golden' kisses.[258]

Additional Note on 20.25. (pseudo-Theocritus)

20.25 My eyes were χαροπώτερα by far than those of γλαυκᾶς Athene.

At first glance, this passage may appear to give support to the Byzantine scholar's note that χαροπός and γλαυκός were synonymous,[259] but one must remember first that as late a writer as Nonnos observed the distinction between the two, secondly that pseudo-Theocritus is not nearly as late as Nonnos, and thirdly that no other example within our period supports the view that the words had more or less the same meaning. One must, therefore, look for another explanation of the odd phrasing.

Pseudo-Theocritus, it is agreed by commentators, imitated the real Theocritus by re-using certain themes from the genuine *Idylls*. A few examples will suffice.

(a) Ps.-Theoc.	The cowherd begins on a personal note and ends with a catalogue of mythological precedent.
Theocritus 3	A goatherd woos Amaryllis first with personal references and ends with appeals to mythology.
(b) Ps.-Theoc.	praises his personal appearance.

Theocritus 3	asks if he is unattractive. [Cf. 'Polyphemus' in *Idyll* 6.34.8].
(c) Ps.-Theoc.	20.22-7.
Theocritus	11.19-21.
(d) Ps.-Theoc.	Eunica is an aggressive townswoman, contemptuous of the uncouth neatherd.
Theocritus 15	satirises this type of woman.[260]
(e) Ps.-Theoc.	his cowherd has χαροποί eyes and likens himself to Ganymede (among others), 41-2.
Theocritus 12.35	Ganymede was χαροπός.

The whole tone of the poem is one of bombastic conceit, an attempt, quite unsuccessfully made, to convey the awkward romantic phraseology and literary posturing of a vain young country bumpkin. Theocritus himself used the devices of loose expression and non sequitur to give verisimilitude to his portraits of rustics,[261] another feature of his work which pseudo-Theocritus appears to have imitated. I take it, therefore, that "eyes more amber than those of blue-eyed Athene," is a joke. The cowherd is very much caught up with his own beautiful appearance, and compares his eyes with those of Athene,[262] employing her stock epithet without regard to the sense of what he is saying.[263]

CHAPTER THREE

ΧΑΡΟΠΟΣ: USAGE AND MEANING

(a) *Historical development of its usage in prose.*

Putting aside for the moment the question of Linear B *karoqo*, I shall begin with the fifth century B.C. The first to employ χαροπός seems to have been Hippocrates who used it of human eyes, particularly those of patients affected by dropsy or tuberculosis. So χαροπός made its first appearance in prose as a diagnostic term, intended to be precise and so of particular assistance to the physician. There can be no question here of its meaning simply 'glittering' or 'fierce.' Physicians look for specific changes in appearance and χαροπός must, therefore, have had a sufficiently exact meaning for a physician to be able to make use of it. Next, Xenophon applied χαροπός to the eyes of dogs and hares. He was a hunter and knew what he was talking about, so once again there can be no question of a simple reference to shining.

It is noteworthy, however, that with Xenophon one comes across the first slight ambiguity in the use of χαροπός. In his description of the 'vulpine' dog, does χαροπός refer to the eye or the coat? Usually, the adjective described the eyes, but one has to ask, eye or coat, even in Homer. Were Homer's χαροποί lions tawny-coated or amber-eyed? As it happens, the same lion can be both and, indeed, wherever the ambiguity occurs later on, one finds that it makes little real difference to accuracy. Xenophon left no doubt, however, that ὑποχαροποί (or perhaps χαροποί) referred to the eyes of a species of hare, and one knows that hares have brown eyes, so it is a reasonable inference that his vulpine dogs also had eyes of a colour more or less the same.

In the fourth century, Aristotle seems to have been the first, either in prose or in verse, to declare that χαροπός was one of the normal colours of the iris. Apart from one sixth century reference to Ares, no verse-writer used the term thus until the third century, so it appears to be very much a prose-usage in this particular sense. Even so, it was linked very closely with animals' eyes, and I suspect that people still automatically associated it with the lion, after Homer's usage. This is certainly the basis of pseudo-Aristotle's

physiognomica and may underlie Dicaearchus's description of Heracles. Unfortunately, one does not have the context of Dicaearchus's remarks, but they do not sound at all like the description of a statue, even though we know that Heracles in one of his aspects was called Χάροψ.[1] Sabinus, a doctor, returned to the medical use of χαροπός although he may simply have been quoting Hippocrates on the subject.

During the third century we find the first example of χαροπότης and one cannot be quite sure whether it refers to the eye or the complexion. The latter would be a highly unusual reference unless Chrysippus, who used the word, had in mind something like an animal's coat; but it does occur after λευκότης and μελανότης, the first of which is never used of the eye. The full sentence runs, "περὶ δὲ σῶμα λευκότητα καὶ μελανότητα καὶ χαροπότητα καὶ ἡδονὴν πᾶσαν καὶ πόνον καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτο." Paleness and darkness, pleasure and pain, are contrasted, and it sounds either as though χαροπότης was thrown in, almost for the sake of having a third colour-term, or as though some other noun, the 'opposite' of χαροπότης, has been left out. The latter strikes me as being the more likely. Χαροπός usually referred to the eye and so one expects a noun formed from it to have the same reference. Plutarch, who was the only other writer whether in prose or verse to use the noun, applied χαροπότης once to the upper *aither* and once to the eyes of German tribes. So it looks as though one ought to propose the same usage for Chrysippus, rather than a curious reference to complexion which has neither precedent nor successor.[2]

In the papyri of this and the following century χαροπός, with its compounds ὑποχαροπός and ὑποχάροψ, was used of human eyes, particularly those of Persians. Once again, one may note that legal documents are not likely to have been satisfied with a man's physical description which contained vague references to 'bright' or 'shining' eyes. They are specific; a man has a hooked nose, curly hair, long face, straight nose, crinkly hair, sallow complexion, a stiff back or leg, and his eyes are χαροποί or ὑποχαροποί—one can distinguish between the two. Variations in shade are likely, so ὑποχαροπός may have been a little darker than χαροπός. Its being a regular description of Persian eyes suggests that it could have been a shade of brown.

Precision is shown again by the author of the anonymous first century description of anchorages in Cyprus, which are pointed out

by reference to the geological composition of the surrounding terrain. Here, χαροπός probably refers to an area of sandstone, in which case it will mean *tawny* or *light brown*. In the first century A.D. Plutarch used χαροπός of human eyes but extended its usage to include the upper aether, (likened to fire by Stoic philosophers and to the flowers of yellow-flax by Plutarch himself) and to the Moon in an attempt to explain γλαυκῶπις—the pale yellow disk of the Moon partly covered by a dark blue shadow which seems to have reminded Greeks of an owl's eye concealed to some degree by its nictitating membrane.

Once again, as we found in the discussion of γλαυκός, the second century A.D. is most rich in texts. Practically all references involving χαροπός, however, are made to eyes. Galen, UPZ, Lucian, Philostratus, Pollux, Rufus, Sextus Empiricus and Symmachus used χαροπός of the human eye; Ptolemy, ὑποχαροπός, although this is simply χαροπός in some texts; P. Strassb., ἐπίχαροψ in a remarkable attempt to be precise—almost finicky—about the eyes of an unusual negro. Pausanias used χάροψ of the painted or enamelled eyes of a statue of Heracles in Boeotia, and Philostratus χαροπός for those of painted heroes, Diomedes, Ajax, and Achilles who are probably meant to be part of the 'Homeric lion' image. Ajax, certainly, is described as a lion about to spring.[3]

Barbary sheep (Aelian), a special breed of dogs (Arrian, Fronto and Pollux) have χαροποί eyes; so do certain types of hare (Pollux); and χαροπός may also describe a kind of grape (Pollux). This leaves two usages worthy of comment. Lucian made the startling remark that Athene was χαροπή, which one ought to understand as referring to her eyes, despite the Latin *fulva Minerva*, since χαροπός never refers to human hair. He, or rather Eros, likened her to a wild man or beast, and it is clear that she is seen in the guise of an Homeric leonine hero. The surprise comes in this fairly common picture's displacing the expected cliché γλαυκός, playing with Homer being a game which the Alexandrians and Lucian in particular very much enjoyed. Secondly, Philostratus described part of a painted sea-wave as χαροπός, but although first century verse-writers had turned χαροπὰ κύματα into a poetic cliché, I do not think one should misunderstand Philostratus's reference. In the picture, a golden vessel has been dropped into the water and its colour is reflected not only in the face of the girl who dropped it but also in the water itself. The description is therefore intended to be accurate, not 'poetic.'

The remaining references in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries simply repeat previous usage—rams' eyes (Florentinus, cf. Basil) and the leonine eyes of heroes (Heliodorus, Philostratus Junior, Adamantius, cf. Astrologer) from which Adamantius was able to derive various flattering characteristics descriptive of Greeks and Ionians. Only once, in the fourth century, was χαρωπός[4] used without ambiguity of an animal's coat, on this occasion of a lioness, but by that time verse had extended somewhat the use of χαροπός to include other parts of the body, although this is true only with reference to animals. In humans, χαροπός refers only to their eyes.

(b) *Meaning and variations*

As with γλαυκός, one has to wait until fairly late in prose before one comes across a writer who used χαροπός of an object about whose colour there can be no doubt. Galen, referring in the course of his argument to Homer, applied the word to lions' eyes which one knows are *amber* or *dark brown*, and Adamantius independently confirmed this. From this one usage, strongly supported by Homer, come the later inferences. Anonymous on sandstone, Plutarch on the Moon, Aelian on sheep, and Epiphanius on the coat of a lioness suggest that the shade is light rather than dark; indeed, a deep yellow turning to brown seems to be the shade which these have in common. Of the compound adjectives, ἐπιχάροψ suggests a streakiness in the colour, and ὑποχαροπός a dull, perhaps a deeper shade. Neither of these was used by writers of verse.

Χαροπός, then, was an adjective of much less range than γλαυκός, since compounds are so few. Its meanings are

χαροπός: amber.
ἐπιχάροψ: streaked or mottled amber.
ὑποχαροπός: brownish-amber, perhaps light brown.

(c) *Historical development of its usage in verse.*

The earliest usage of χαροπός in verse is that of Homer who applied the word to a lion. Hesiod imitated him and so did the *Hymni Homerici* which also used the word of dogs, probably with reference to their eyes, rather than their coats.[5] An anonymous poet, also of the sixth century B.C., described Ares as χαροπός. It is the only such reference and may have owed something to the tradition of the χαροπός-eyed hero which can be seen in accounts of later paintings and statues.

In the fifth century, Aristophanes made a joke at the expense of Homer and applied χαροπός not to lions but to monkeys, and I have argued[6] that he was probably describing their skins rather than their eyes. The animal he had in mind may have been the Barbary ape, in which case the colour was a somewhat yellowish brown.[7] In the fourth century, χαροπός seems to have fallen out of favour since there remains not a single extant example of its use in verse, but in the third, verse-writers widened the scope of χαροπός to include dawn, stars, and the sea.[8] Apollonius's χαροπή dawn may have had reference to the angry eye of Heracles, left behind by Jason and the Argonauts, watching over them as they began to fall out among themselves. In Aratus, χαροπός described the constellation *Lepus*, so called partly because of the associations inherent in his zoomorphic nomenclature, but partly because one of the large stars in the constellation, *Nihal*, is classified as a yellow giant. Finally, Asclepiades, who was the first to use χαροπός of the sea, invented an extraordinary image which caught the imagination of later verse-writers and was used by them, though without any of the deeply personal associations which had led Asclepiades to coin it in the first place.[9]

Antipater of Sidon referred to a χαροπός goose, probably the Common goose which has light brown plumage and brown eyes. Since his goose was actually a statue, χαροπός once again is likely to have described its enamelled or painted eyes. Bianor used the word of Egyptian snakes, and if these are the native cobras, it describes either their light brown skins or their brownish-yellow eyes. As in every case of the slightly ambiguous use of χαροπός, the adjective will fit both coat and eye though, in view of its usage elsewhere, one should refer it to the eye wherever possible.

The second century A.D. has no surprises except for Marcellus Sidetes's description of a species of tunny with yellow eyes.[10] The third contains Oppian of Syria who extended the use to Parthian horses in a somewhat artificial set of matched pairs in which amber-eyed, tawny-coated lions were to be faced by amber (or light brown) -eyed, bay-coated horses. His χάροψ γλαῦκος sounds like another species of tunny since those fish have yellow eyes and light blue colouration. The ounce and the leopard, whose eyes are capable of extraordinary variation which includes yellow and gold, are also χαροποί: the rest of his usage is traditional.[11]

Finally, in the fifth, Nonnos extended its usage even further. The jaws of a snake, of bears and of a dog are all χαροποί and it may be

shown that in each case χαροπός is quite capable of being a colour-term. There is no need to resort to 'grim' or 'fierce' as translations. A bull's horns, snakes themselves, and (perhaps in a transferred epithet) panthers' eyes are χαροποί, and, in a complex set of images involving bronze, the light brown of cobras, and the yellow of ripe corn, the earth, too, is called χαροπός. So also is the sea and I have argued[12] that at this late stage there is still no ambiguity in its being so described, since a colour-term will not suddenly refer to an entirely different area of the spectrum for which a language already has perfectly good descriptive terms. 'Amber sea,' then, retains its place as a poetic cliché even though Nonnos may have tried to enliven it by reference to the yellow variety of topaz.[13]

(d) *Symbolic and emotional associations*

It has been obvious from the brevity of this survey that χαροπός lacked the reverberative subtilty of γλαυκός. Practically all writers, whether of prose or verse, used the word to describe an eye-colour, and associated it especially with lions. According to Jung, the lion was a symbol of the fierce midsummer heat of the sun and therefore of frenzied desire also. For him, Samson and Heracles, the two most famous lion-killers, were solar heroes engaged in a battle to overcome themselves.[14] In the early stages of alchemy it is true that the lion had this significance, but he quickly passed into a more complex symbolism and began to stand for the dangerous, evil, violent action of sulphur.[15]

These significations, however, do not represent the earlier view of χαροπός; they are not part of a long-lasting tradition of symbolism as the Evil Eye was for γλαυκός. Χαροπός, from Homer down to Adamantius, suggested a lion and a leonine hero, and its associations were no more complicated than those given by Adamantius himself.

One exception to this is obvious—the association of χαροπός with the sea. 'Amber sea' is such an unusual idea that it calls for comment, and I tried to account for its origins in the strange, unhappy character of its originator, Asclepiades of Samos. One or two additional points ought to be made. In Asclepiades's hands χαροπὰ κύματα was the expression of a deep-seated neurosis. Why, then, did succeeding poets continue to use the phrase?

Partly, perhaps, because the alliteration was appealing and it was technically useful to have ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ available instead of – ⏓. It is

noticable, however, that Meleager, Antipater of Sidon, and the Anacreontic poet, used the phrase in an erotic context, that is to say with reference to love in one form or another, just as Asclepiades had done. Thereafter χαροπὰ κύματα became just another poetic turn of phrase for the sea, and the erotic association is not revived. Does this mean that χαροπός changed its meaning from *amber* to *blue*? No, it did not, because every other usage contemporaneous with references to the sea shows that χαροπός meant *amber*, and one cannot seriously maintain that a term can refer to two entirely different colours, even at different periods, let alone at the same time. Χαροπός continued to mean *amber*, the poets knew that that was what it meant, but it did not trouble them because the phrase was devoid of all immediacy or surprise. One can think of many examples in English of popular phrases involving colour-terms in which both the original sense and association of the colour have almost been forgotten; green fingers, blue joke, white lie, yellow-belly, black comedy. 'Amber sea' is of the same kind.

(e) *Etymology*

Χαροπός or Χάροψ appeared in Linear B as *ka-ro-qo*, a proper name,[16] which may provide a link between an early amber-eyed hero and Homer's (implied) leonine Heracles. Since the meaning has now been fixed, it is not difficult to trace the origins of χαρ-οπος (amber-eyed) to Sanskrit *hári* meaning *yellow*, and it is interesting to note that the Sanskrit adjective has much the same range of reference as the Greek—horse, lion, monkey, Moon, goose, snake, and fire.[17]

(f) *Word lists*

A: Chronological sequence of authors.
B: Objects to which χαροπός and its compounds are referred.
C: Dates of first appearances of χαροπός and its compounds.

A.

	PROSE	*VERSE*
Pre 7th B.C.		Homer χαροπός.
7th B.C.		Hesiod χαροπός.

6th B.C.		HYMNI HOMERICI χαροπός. ANONYMOUS χαροπός.
5th B.C.	HIPPOCRATIC CORPUS χαροπός. XENOPHON χαροπός, ὑποχαροπός.	SOPHOCLES χαροπός. ARISTOPHANES χαροπός.
4th B.C.	ARISTOTLE χαροπός. DICAEARCHUS ὑποχαροπός. SABINUS? χαροπός.	
3rd B.C.	CHRYSIPPUS χαροπότης. P. PETR. χαροπός.	THEOCRITUS χαροπός. ARATUS χαροπός. ASCLEPIADES χαροπός. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS χαροπός.
2nd B.C.	P. TEB. ὑποχάροψ. P. MICH. III ὑποχαροπός. P. RYLANDS ὑποχαροπός.	ANTIPATER OF SIDON χαροπός. MELEAGER χαροπός.
1st B.C.	ANONYMOUS? χαροπός.	ANACREONTEA? χαροπός. BIANOR? χαροπός. ORAC.SIB.? χαροπός. SECUNDUS? χαροπός.
1st A.D.	PLUTARCH χαροπός, χαροπότης.	
2nd A.D.	ARRIAN χαροπός. PTOLEMY ὑποχαροπός. GALEN χαροπός. UPZ. χαροπός.	I.G. χαροπός. MESOMEDES χαροπός. P. CHICAGO χαροπός. OPPIAN OF CILICIA? χαροπός.

	Aelian χαροπός.	Marcellus Sidetes χαροπός.
	Philostratus χαροπός.	
	Fronto χαροπός.	
	Lucian χαροπός.	
	P. Strassb. ἐπιχάροψ.	
	Pausanias χάροψ.	
	Pollux χαροπός.	
	Symmachus χαροπός.	
	Rufus χαροπός.	
	Sextus Empiricus χαροπός.	
3rd A.D.	Heliodorus χαροπός.	Oppian of Syria χαροπός, χάροψ.
	Florentinus χαροπός.	
	Philostratus Junior χαροπός.	
4th A.D.	Astrologer χαροπός.	Orphica? χαροπός.
	Basil χαροπός.	P.Mag.Par.? χαροπός.
	Epiphanius χαρωπός.	Quintus Smyrnaeus? χαροπός.
5th A.D.	Adamantius χαροπός.	Nonnos χαροπός.
		Pseudo-Manetho? χαροπός, χαρωπός.

B.

1. χαροπός:

PROSE

anchorage—Anonymous.
Athene—Lucian.
bear (?)—P.Mag.Par.
constellation—pseudo-Manetho.
dogs—Arrian, Fronto, Pollux, Xenophon.
eyes—

(animal)—Aristotle.
(human)—Aristotle, pseudo-Aristotle, Astrologers, Basil, Galen, Heliodorus, Hippocratic Corpus, Lucian, pseudo-Manetho, P.Petr., UPZ., Philostratus, Philostratus Junior, Pollux, Rufus, Sabinus, Sextus Empiricus, Symmachus.
goats—Aelian.
grapes—Pollux.
hares—Pollux.
lions—pseudo-Aristotle.
Moon—Plutarch.
rams—Florentinus.
sea—Philostratus.

VERSE
Ares—Anonymous.
bulls—P.Mag.Par.
constellation—Aratus.
dawn—Apollonius Rhodius, Quintus Smyrnaeus.
dog—Anonymous, *Hymni Homerici*, Nonnos, Oppian of Syria.
earth—Nonnos.
eyes—
(animal)—Sophocles.
(human)—Asclepiades, Oppian of Syria, pseudo-Theocritus.
fish—Marcellus Sidetes.
Ganymede—Theocritus.
goose—Antipater of Sidon.
hares—Oppian of Syria.
horns (of a bull)—Nonnos.
horses—Oppian of Syria.
lions—Hesiod, Homer, *Hymni Homerici*, I.G., Oppian of Syria, Orphica, Theocritus.
manger—Nonnos.
monkeys—Aristophanes.
Moon—Aratus, Mesomedes, Quintus Smyrnaeus.
panthers—Oppian of Syria.
sea—Anacreontea, Anonymous, Antipater of Sidon, Asclepiades, Meleager, Nonnos, Oppian of Cilicia, Oracula Sibyllina, Orphica, P.Chicago., Secundus, pseudo-Sophocles.
snakes—Bianor, Nonnos.
stars—Aratus.
Typhoeus—Nonnos.

2. χαροπότης:

PROSE ONLY
air—Plutarch.
eyes—
(human)—Chrysippus (?), Plutarch.

3. χάροψ:

PROSE
Heracles—Pausanias.

VERSE
fish—Oppian of Syria.

4. χαρωπός:

PROSE ONLY
lioness—Epiphanius.
eyes—
(human)—pseudo-Manetho.

5. ἐπιχάροψ:

PROSE ONLY
eyes—
(human)—P. Strassb.

6. ὑποχαροπός:

PROSE ONLY
eyes—
(human)—P. Mich. III, P. Rylands, Ptolemy.
hares—Xenophon.
Heracles—Dicaearchus.

7. ὑποχάροψ:

PROSE ONLY
eyes—
(human)—P. Teb.

8. εὐχαροπός:

PROSE ONLY
eyes (of a cockerel)—Florentinus (?)

C.

1.	χαροπός	— 5th B.C. (prose) pre 7th B.C. (verse)
2.	χαροπότης	— 3rd B.C. (prose)
3.	χάροψ	— 2nd A.D. (prose) 3rd A.D. (verse)
4.	χαρωπός	— 4th A.D. (prose)
5.	ἐπιχάροψ	— 2nd A.D. (prose)
6.	ὑποχαροπός	— 5th-4th B.C. (prose)
7.	ὑποχαροπός	— 3rd B.C. (prose)
8.	εὐχαροπός	— 3rd A.D. (prose) ?

APPENDICES

A. *A note on Caelius Aurelianus*

Caelius Aurelianus was born in Africa, perhaps during the fifth century A.D. He prepared Latin versions of two works by Soranus, *Celeres Passiones* and *Tardae Passiones*. In the latter he described thus the appearance of urine in advancing nephritis.

'The urine is thin, watery, and so *subalbida* that it takes on the colour of filtered fluid, a colour the Greeks call χαροπός,' (5.55).[1]

Aurelianus's description sounds like that of chronic interstitial nephritis, a frequent form of Bright's disease in which the urine is very pale indeed. Since the normal colour of healthy urine is a clear yellow, it is obvious that what Aurelianus meant by χαροπός was a pale straw shade.[2]

This sentence of his cannot be a translation of the Greek since he has to add "quam Graeci charopon vocant" for the benefit of his Latin readers. But it does indicate what he thought the word meant and, as we have seen earlier, his interpretation coincides with the range of yellow-brown usually associated with the word.

B. *Manuscript confusions over χαροπός*

Adamantius, 1.7 χαροποί = χαροποιοί M (bis). 1.8 χαροποῖς = χαροποιοῖς M.
Anon, *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* 307 χαροπός = ἐπιχαρωπός cod.
C.C.A.G. 4.159 χαροπός = χαροποιός cod. (bis).
Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 2.31.1 χαροπώτερον VMT = χαλεπώτερον B.
Hippocratic Corpus, *Epidemiae* 2 section 6.1 χαροποί = χαροποιοί D.
Philostratus Junior, *Imagines* 7.3 χαροπόν = χαρεπόν F.
Pollux, *Onomasticon* 2.4 (61) χαροπός = χαροποιός cod. 5.12 (69) Idem.
Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 3.12.6 ὑποχαροπούς Va = ὑποχαροποίους βγ.
Homer, *Odyssey* 11.611 χαροποί = χαλεποί fR[10].
Meleager, *A.G.* 5.156 χαροποῖς (Stephanus) = χαλεποῖς, γαληνοῖς codd.
Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 37.485: see note supra, 52.
Theocritus, 25.225 χαροπόν = χαλεπόν D.

These confusions fall into two categories, (a) orthographic, (b) confused meaning. On the latter, notice that Sanskrit *háryati*, to

take pleasure in, is connected with χαίρω. Cf. *Etym.Mag.* 807.30, χαροπός = περιχαρής, εὐόφθαλμος, ἐξ οὗ χαροπή. So also Suidas.

Pseudo-Pythagoras, apud *C.C.A.G.* 11^2.135^{29}. [Those born under Aries] are †χαροποί. There are variant readings in the Mss., κατάροποι and κατάρωποι, neither of which is a genuine word. Χαροπός is the most likely emendation. *Ibid.* 11^2.137^{18}, χαροποί = χαροποιοί cod. On the other hand, it is likely that 11^2.124^{12} χαροποιούς M should be χαροπούς.

Some passages from the Church Fathers are worth comment.

(a) *Vita Sancti Antonii* 67 = Migne, *P.G*: 26.940. "[David] χαροποιοὺς γὰρ εἶχε τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ὡς γάλα λευκούς." An alternative reading in a number of Mss. is χαροπούς. The passage is inspired by LXX *Genesis* 49.12, "χαροποιοὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ οἶνον. καὶ λευκοὶ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ἢ γάλα," for which there is also an alternative Ms. reading, χαροποί.[3] The Hebrew is quite clearly against χαροποιοί, giving the sense, "his eyes shall be darkened with wine," which the Authorised Version renders, "red with wine." Some sense of colour is obviously required not only by the Hebrew but also by the style which needs a darker colour to balance λευκοί, as *wine* is balanced against *milk*. Compare *Proverbs* 23.29-30, "τίνος πελιδνοὶ [in some Mss. πέλειοι] οἱ ὀφθαλμοί; οὐ τῶν ἐγχρονιζόντων ἐν οἴνοις" The Vulgate translates by *pulchriores vino*, apparently from a Ms. reading χαροποιοί. Compare LXX I *Kings* 16.12, "καὶ αὐτὸς πυρράκης μετὰ κάλλους ὀφθαλμῶν." Did the conjunction of πυρρός and καλλός in this passage influence translators of *Genesis* to write the unlikely χαροποί instead of μέλανες or ἀμαυροί?

(b) Macarius, *Homiliae* 17.1 = Migne, *P.G*: 34.624, "τὸ ἁγιαστικὸν καὶ χαροποιὸν ἔλαιον τῆς ἀγαλλιασέως." The reading here is almost certainly correct. Compare "ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιασέως," LXX *Psalms* 44.7, quoted by Paul, *Hebrews* 1.19.

(c) Palladius, *Historia Lausica* 50 = Migne, *P.G*: 34.1132, "ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου ἔχοντα, χαροποιὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ πολλῆς χάριτος ὅλον μέστον." Compare the passage from Athanasius, "καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ χάριν εἶχε πολλὴν καὶ παράδοξαν .... ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς τῆς ψυχῆς ἱλαρὸν ἔχειν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον."[4] It is probable, then, that χαροποιός reflects the idea of the body's revealing grace from within. Compare "ἄλειμμα εὐφροσύνης," *Isaiah* 61.3. The 'face of an angel' phraseology is reminiscent of Stephen before the Sanhedrin. "εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου," *Acts* 6.15.

C. *Hadrian's Eyes*

An anonymous Latin physiognomist, translating from the Greek text of Polemon, recorded that Hadrian's eyes were "χαροπούς, humidos, acres, magnos, luminis plenos," a picture which more or less coincides with the Arabic version of Polemon.[5] Dio Cassius mentioned that Hadrian contracted tuberculosis and dropsy,[6] and one is reminded that the *Hippocratic Corpus* indicated in two places that those who are consumptive, or prone to dropsy, have χαροποί eyes.[7] I have already noted (supra, 13) that colour-change to yellow in the eyes may be associated with active tuberculosis of the lungs, and it may be that the brilliance of Hadrian's was caused, at least in part, by the disease which finally killed him.[8]

D. *Arabic Translations of χαροπός*

I have already noted in a previous volume on γλαυκός certain curious features of Arabic renderings of both γλαυκός and χαροπός. There are difficulties in translating Arabic colour-terms with any degree of accuracy, but whoever translated pseudo-Polemon's *Physiognomica* into Arabic made a clear distinction between *azraq* and *ashhal*, and applied the distinction regularly. That here could be variation within the blueness of γλαυκός was recognised by pseudo-Polemon who said that it was sometimes pale, sometimes hyacinthine, by which one should understand a somewhat darker shade of blue.[9] But there still remains a problem over the meaning of *shahla* or *ashhal.*

The ninth century Arab ophthalmologist Honain ibn Isaac said that there were four colours of the eye, *akhal*, which is dark blue-black, the word from which *kohl* is derived; *azraq* which means light blue; *ashhal*, whose meaning is a problem; and *ashʿal* which probably refers to a tawny or amber shade.[10] Honain went on to describe the eye-colours of certain races in order to illustrate the observation he had just made. Ethiopians, he said, have *akhal* eyes, Slavs *azraq*, and those in between *ashhal* or *ashʿal.*[11]

Now, it strikes me that one can make two remarks about that. By Slavs Honain would mean almost any Northern European, and his ascription of light blue eyes to them was in accordance with Greek views of the same people. Africans' eyes are very dark brown, and so the 'in between' will be the lighter shades of brown (as well as other colours) covered by the two very similar terms *ashhal* and

ashʿal. I might hazard a guess that there could easily arise confusion between اشهل (*ashhal*) and اشعل (*ashʿal*), and this suggests that translations of the former should often more accurately be translations of the latter. In other words, χαροπός (*amber*) certainly represents *ashʿal*, whereas it is difficult to explain its connection with *ashhal*.[12]

E. *Theophilus: De Urinis*

The medical textbook on urine by Theophilus Protospatharius (ninth century A.D.)[13] gave two lists of possible colours which could be observed, one in 'thin' urine, the other in 'thick'.

Thin.	*Thick.*
λευκόν	λευκόν
γαλακτῶδες	γαλακτῶδες
γλαυκόν	χαροπόν
χαροπόν	ὑπέρυθρον
ὠχρόν	ἐρυθρόν
ὕπωχρον	οἰνωπόν
ὑπόπυρρον	κυανοῦν
πυρρόν	χλωρόν
ὑπόξανθον	πελιδνόν
ξανθόν	μέλαν.[14]

These descriptions reveal a detailed and accurate observation of the changes which can occur both in the colour and in the composition of urine. Χαροπός represents what one may call the normal colour of healthy urine, a pale off-yellow, the colour of straw.

A fifteenth century Byzantine uroscopy Ms. which illustrates Theophilus's book shows *karopus* as a mixture of dirty greyish-brown and white faintly tinged with pink, and placed next to *subpallidus* which is simply a uniform dull, watered sad pink.[15] Another Ms., a copy of the former, has *karopus* a very pale, watery beige. There may be some grey in it as it is a slightly dirty water-colour, but it is not nearly as dark or as pink as the *karopus* in Ms. 789.[16] In fact, the illustrator of Ms. 391 does not seem to have mixed his colours nearly as much as had his predecessor, and pink is probably absent from his version of *karopus*. In a third Ms. from the same period, *karopos* (sic) is described as the colour of a camel's skin, with

which one may compare Theophilus, 'οἱάπερ τὰ τῶν καμήλων ἔρια τὰ ὑπόλευκα', and is shown as dirty grey upon a pinkish background.[17] According to the Ms. the colour is connected with digestive disorders.[18]

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NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

[1] I am aware that certain matters have to be taken into consideration. The older one becomes, for example, the less sensitive one is to blue, [D. B. Judd & G. Wyszecki: *Colour in Business, Science and Industry*, (New York 1975), 14], but none of the evidence for χαροπός shows any sign that it comes from someone particularly aged or from any affected adversely in his vision. It is also true that the nearer to the Equator societies live, the more frequently colour-names like blue and green, which are on the short wavelength of the spectrum, become confused or are identified with each other, [M. C. Bornstein: "Colour vision and colour naming: A psychophysiological hypothesis of cultural difference," *Psychological Bulletin* 80 (1973), 257-85], but this applied particularly to darkly pigmented peoples and has no relevance to the Greeks.

[2] Attempts to discuss Greek colours in terms of shade, hue, tint, chroma, saturation and so forth, for example, are misguided because these modern, scientifically determined descriptions can have no meaning unless one is able to test the individual colour in order to decide which term should be applied to it. For Greek colour-terminology we have only the Greek words themselves applied to objects seen in a literary, not a scientific, context. It makes little sense, therefore, to say that the Greeks saw colours in terms of light and dark, or that they failed to distinguish shades of a different colour, or did not differentiate colours in virtue of hue. Some of these complaints are untrue; others are based upon unrealistic expectation.

[3] *Culture and Communication*, (Cambridge 1976), 59.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

ADAMANTIUS

[1] M = χαροποιοί. The Arabic version of Polemon translated χαροπός by *shuhāl*, treating it as a form of γλαυκός, although the Arabic itself means 'black mixed with blue or, occasionally, red'. See further Appendix D.

[2] Pseudo-Polemon also thought that χαροποί eyes were weaker (ἀσθενεῖς) than γλαυκοί, 1.12.

[3] 'Πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ εἴδη.' This probably means that the speckling shows a variety of colours, since this is what Adamantius goes on to discuss. See my book on γλαυκός, 13, 14 for general comments and a summary of this passage. M, once again, has χαροποιοῖς.

[4] Cf. pseudo-Aristotle: *Physiognomica* 5 (809b.19); Epiphanius: *Adversus Haereses* 3.2.78[12]; Homer: *Odyssey* 11.611; Hesiod: *Theogony* 321, *Scutum* 177; *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (4) 569; Oppian of Syria: *Cynegetica* 1.310; Orphic fr. 63.

[5] Cf. Adamantius: 2.31 and the Arabic Polemon: *Physiognomica* 35.

[6] 'Χαροπὸς, οὐ λαμπρόν, ὑγρὸν δὲ ὁρῶν.'

[7] *Return to the Wild*, (London 1962). Both this and the next quotation come from page 81.

[8] Aristotle listed γλαυκοί and χαροποί as separate eye-colours, [*G.A.* 5.1 (799a.32-3, 35; 779b.13-14). Cf. *H.A.* 1.10 (492a.2)], and said that γλαυκοί eyes are weak in daylight because they are deficient in water, *G.A.* 5.1 (779b.18; 780a.1. Cf. 18). There was a good deal of argument over whether χαροποί eyes were dry or moist, (see Galen: *In Hippocratis Epidemias 3, Commentarius* 3.70 = K17[1].726-7), but it does not affect my point that Adamantius recognised a difference, and called χαροποί eyes moist.

AELIAN

[9] This is the same as Scholfield's *Ovis lervia* (Loeb ed. 1959), note ad locum. The nomenclature has been changed. See further Grzimek 13.492-3 and the coloured illustration (opposite 489), and cf. Theocritus: 3.5.

[10] As A.F. Scholfield translated χαροποί. In his Latin version of Aelian, published in 1556, Gesner rendered ὄμματα χαροποί as *ravis oculis*, on which usage see infra, note 41. He thought the goats were ibexes.

ANONYMOUS

[12] This is an emendation. The codices have ἐπιχαρωπός, as is recorded by LSJM s.v., but it is fairly clear that the emended reading, ὁ μέν ἐστι χαροπός, is correct.

[13] A.E. Nordensköld translated χαροπός curiously as *light blue*, though it is hard to see what form such an anchorage could take, *Periplus*, (Stockholm 1897), 12.

ARISTOTLE

[14] Quoted by Galen: *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur* 7 = K14.797.

[15] Cf. Adamantius 2.2 etc. Lions' eyes are actually exophthalmic.

[16] Moerbeke also translated pseudo-Archytas in 1266, and there rendered χαροπότατα as 'varietatem oculis.'

Arrian

[17] See R. and A. Fiennes: *The Natural History of the Dog*, (London 1968), 39 and plate 22. See also B. Vesey-Fitzgerald (ed.): *The Book of the Dog*, (The Hague 1948), 27.

[18] Fiennes: 80-1. Salukis were also used as hunting dogs by the Persians. See Vesey-Fitzgerald: 24. J. Aymard: *Essai sur les chasses romaines*, (Paris 1951), 271, 386-7. Grzimek: 12. plate 258, no. 7.

[19] Vesey-Fitzgerald: 630. E. Schneider-Leyer: *Dogs of the World*, trans. E. Fitch Daglish, (London 1964), 158-9.

[20] Vesey-Fitzgerald: 316.

[21] Schneider-Leyer: 150.

[22] "It is a well-known fact that there is a certain relation between the dog's coat and its eye and nose colour," O. Winge, trans. C. Roberts: *Inheritance in Dogs*, (London 1950), 60.

[23] Even today a dark-coloured eye is preferred, although a golden colour is accepted. See E.C. Ash: *The New Book of the Dog*, (London 1938), 100. There is no question of χαροπά referring to the coat. The subject of χαροπά is τὰ ὄμματα.

Astrologers

[24] The date is perhaps post 379 A.D. This passage is repeated at $5^1.203^2$ and $8^4.180^{17}$, (Rhetorius of Egypt, sixth century A.D.).

[25] By a Christian writer. Presumably ὅλως means that his irides will not be heavily speckled, but more or less of a single colour. Cf. Adamantius 1.11 where he says that χαροποί eyes are different from μέλανες because they are speckled, sometimes in many different colours. The Codices have χαροποιοί each time, which Kroll corrected to χαροποί.

Basil

[26] = Migne, *PG*: 29.129.

Chrysippus

[27] Χαροπότης is probably a reference to the colour of eyes. Cf. Scholiast ad Lucium: *Bis Accusatus* 22 (p. 143, Rabe).

Dicaearchus

[28] The passage comes from Migne, *PG*: 8.105. Cf. Pausanias: 9.34.5 and my note ad locum. See also Philostratus: *Vitae Sophistarum* 2 (522).

Epiphanius

[29] = Migne, *PG*: 42.717.

[30] Cf. Chrysippus, fr. 136.

[31] *Simba, the Life of the Lion*, 47.

Florentinus

[32] See Pauly-Wissowa: 6.2756.

[33] Cf. Theocritus: 22.72. See also J-M. Croisille: *Les natures mortes companiennes*, plate 61, no. 116. The general colour of the whole picture is described as brown-

red. There is a better illustration in V. Spinazzola: *Pompei*, 3. plates 21 and 23, detail, plate 31.

[34] See a mosaic of the second century A.D. from Tunisia, apid G. Caputo and A. Driss: *Tunisia, Ancient Mosaics*, plate 1. T. Ivanov: *Une mosaïque romaine de Ulpia Oescus*, plate 19, with details in plates 20 and 21. M.J. Mellink: *AJA* 75 (1971), 253. Cf. also Varro: *De re rustica* 3.9.5.

[35] *De re rustica* 2.2.4.

[36] Pacuvius: "Cedo tuum pedem mi, lymphis flavis fulvum ut pulverem/ manibus isdem." Ennius: "verrunt extemplo placide mare marmore flavo/caeruleum." 'Favorinus' comments that *caeruleum* does not seem to go with *marmore flavo*, but that as *flavus* contains green and white (*e viridi et albo mixtus*), it is an elegant phrase for sea-foam. In my opinion, 'Favorinus' has misunderstood not only this, but other colours too, including *caeruleus*, but here is not the place to discuss it. Nonius Marcellinus equated *ravus* with *fulvus*, citing this passage from Cicero, in his *De compendiosa doctrina* s.v. ravum.

[37] Cf. Aristotle: *H.A.* 1.10 (492a.)

[38] Cf. Fronto, apud *Geoponica*: 19.2.1.

[39] See R. and A. Fiennes: *The Natural History of the Dog*, 9. E.C. Ash: *The New Book of the Dog*, 257-8, 401.

[40] The Greeks and Romans bred their own distinctive kinds of poultry, so it would be a little misleading to equate their cocks with our own. But most modern cockerels have dark brown or amber eyes. Cf. Florentinus: 14.16.2.

[41] Both words refer to the gods' eyes. Cf. Pliny: *loc.cit.* supra.

[42] For example, Plautus: *Epidicus* 403. Lactantius: *Institutiones Divinae* 1.20 = Migne, *PL*: 6.217. Cf. Menander, fr. 610. Juvenal: 6.120. Servius ad Vergilium: *Aeneid* 4.698. Acro ad Horatium: *loc.cit.* 'ravus color dicitur niger mixtus cum fulvo,' which here probably means not so much two colours mingled to produce one—which would be a filthy grey—as a tawny streaked with black, exactly the effect of a wolf's pelt. See Grzimek: 12.199 and plate 204, no. 6. Cf. also the tawny wolfskin caps (*fulvos galeros*) of Vergil: *Aeneid* 7.688, and the bronze wolf on the shield of Minerva, Claudian: *Panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius* 1.99.

[43] There may be a reminiscence of Homer: *Odyssey* 11.611 in which case *ravos* will refer to the eyes. It makes no difference to the colour sense, as lions have amber eyes.

[44] *Greek Birds*, s.v. βύας. E.W. Martin made the same identification, *The Birds of the Latin Poets*, 43. See also J. Pollard; *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, 81-2. Cf. 'fulvis alis,' Ovid: *Metamorphoses* 546. See also Grzimek: 8. plate 380, no. 8.

[45] Apud Festum: *De Significatu Verborum*, p. 355 (Lindsay).

[46] There are several dubious readings.

(a) Cicero: *De Divinatione* 1.8.14.

"Rava fulix itidem, fugiens e gurgite ponti,
nuntiat horribilis clamans instare procellas."

This is a translation of Aratus: *Phaenomena* 913 sq.

καὶ δ'ἂν ἐπὶ ξηρὴν ὅτ' ἐρωδιὸς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον
ἐξ ἁλὸς ἔρχηται φωνῇ περιπολλὰ λεληκώς.

The correct reading, however, is *cana fulix*, undoubtedly making happier sense, because herons are grey.

(b) Columella: *De re rustica* 8.2.9.

[On cockerels]. "Their crest should be high, blood red and not crooked; their eyes *ravidi vel nigrantes*."

rabidi, rubidi, rubicundi = Mss.
ravidi = Forster-Heffner.

(c) Quintilian: *Institutio Oratoria* 11.3.32.
[On voices] "— if it is not dull, coarse, exaggerated, hard, stiff, *rava*..."
vana = Mss.
rava = Burman.
(d) Ovid: *Ars Amatoria* 2.659.
[Of women]. "If she is cross-eyed, [you will say] she is like Venus; if *flava*, like Minerva."
rava = Heisius.
(e) *Priapeia* 36.4.
"Minerva ravo lumine, Venus paeto."
Cf. Ovid supra.

Fronto

[47] *De re rustica* 2.9.3.
[48] *De re rustica* 7.12.3-4.
[49] E.C. Ash: *The New Book of the Dog*, 101.

Galen

[50] Cf. Adamantius 1.11. The variety is not of different colours, but of shades within a single colour, from brown to yellow, as can be inferred from his Homeric example.
[51] *Odyssey* 11.611.
[52] Cf. Adamantius 2.31. See also Littré's note ad Hippocratis *Epidemias*, Vol. 3.96-7.
[53] In other words, what makes men similar are specific points of comparison such as like eyes, like noses, etc.
[54] λευκός and μέλας refer to his complexion and are general terms, whereas γλαυκός and χαροπός refer to specific parts of him, the eyes.
[55] See Duke-Elder: *System of Ophthalmology*, 8^1.217 and figs. 154-6; *Ibid.* 8^2.1029; 9.260, and 10.247.
[56] See further supra, 00-0. The Hippocrates passage is *Epidemiae* 3, section 3.14 = Littré 3.96. Galen's wording is slightly different. Littré translated χαροπόν as 'les yeux fauves', and noted, 'la dénomination de χαροπόν s'applique à la couleur des yeux.'

Heliodorus

[57] *Moralia* (Quaestiones Graecae 26 and 13), 297b, and 293f-294a. Cf. Strabo; 1.3.21.
[58] Cf. *A.G.* 5.156 (Meleager) in which Asclepias "who is most loving" is described as having "χαροποῖς eyes like a calm sea." It is possible that Heliodorus knew Meleager's work, too, which borrowed the χαροπὰ κύματα phrase from Asclepiades but rejected the neurotic content of its image.

Hippocratic Corpus

[59] Littré: "aux yeux bleus."
[60] Littré: "aux yeux bleus." Some Mss. have χαροποιοί.
[61] *Libri Medicinales* 3.8.5-6.
[62] See Sabinus, apud Galen: *In Hippocratis Epidemias 3, Commentarius* 3.70 = $K17^1$.726. Cf. Celsus: *De Medicina* 3.22.3. W.H.S. Jones's note ad locum in

his Loeb edition (1923) said," It seems impossible to decide whether the adjective χαροπός refers here to the brightness of the eyes or to their colour." Since Greek is well equipped with words to convey brightness [see, for example, the passage of Aretaeus quoted supra], it seems unlikely that χαροπός, elsewhere a colour-term, will be wrenched here from its usual meaning, particularly in a diagnostic context where misunderstanding or inaccuracy would be most unwelcome. The 'glittering' eye, so frequently noted by nineteenth century novelists, was probably so remarkable because of the contrast between it and the surrounding dull pallor which is a feature of the disease.

Lucian

63 Minerva was sometimes called *fulva*, but this applied to her hair, whereas χαροπός was usually used of the eyes but never of human hair.

64 (Lions) Hesiod: *Theogony* 321, *Scutum* 177. Homer: *Odyssey* 11.611. (Heracles) Pausanias: 9.34.5. (Diomedes) Philostratus: *Heroicus* 4.4. (Ajax) *Ibid.* 12.1. (Achilles) *Ibid.* 19.5. (Jason) Philostratus Junior: *Imagines* 7.3; 15.5. (Cimbri) Plutarch: *Marius* 11.3.

P.Mag.Par

65 *De Materia Medica* 4.56.

66 It is worth comparing with this plant another called βούφθαλμον which had a golden flower, (χρυσωπόν), Anon.: *De Herbis* 133 [ed. A. Koechly, Poetae Bucolici et Didactici, Paris 1851]

P.Mich.III

67 Megisto is earlier described as a Persian girl.

P.Strass

68 Pherecrates, fr. 108.16.

69 Theophrastus: *H.P.* 3.10.4. See also Polunin: *Flowers of Europe*, no. 729. This does not agree with Sir Arthur Hort's 'brownish', (Loeb ed. 1916).

70 Pseudo-Aristotle: *De Coloribus* 5 (796b.14).

71 Aristotle: *G.A.* 5.5. (785a.18). Cf. Demosthenes: *Contra Cononem* (54).34.

Papyri Tebtunis

72 See my book on γλαυκός, 36.

Pausanias

73 'Περὶ τὸ Χαρόπειον τῆς Κορωνίας,' *Arch Delt.* 2 (1916), 217-72. The pages particularly relevant to this discussion are 240-1.

74 Translations of χάροψ have varied. Anon: 'the grey-eyed,' (London 1794); Siebel: 'quasi paetis vel caesiis oculis dixeris,' (Leipzig 1827); Frazer: 'bright-eyed,' (London 1898); Paton: 'with bright eyes,' (Loeb ed. 1918).

75 'That mean yellow look which is a sure sign that a lion is vicious,' N. Carr: *Return to the Wild*, 81.

76 Cf. Dicaearchus, apud Clement of Alexandria: *Cohortatio ad Gentes* 1.2 and Philostratus: *Vitae Sophistarum* 2. I have not forgotten my earlier argument that γλαυκίαω was used of the lion seeking to petrify his prey. In that metaphor, a human activity—exerting the influence of the Evil Eye—was transferred to the lion. Here, the opposite has happened. See further my book on γλαυκός, 45.

Philostratus

[77] Once again, golden tears and golden light gleam in eyes of the same colour. It does not make sense to suppose that the eyes are of a different colour, and the passage presumes that the colour is uniform throughout—tears, sunlight, eyes.

[78] Notice that χαροπός is here distinguished from brightness.

[79] Cf. Pausanias 9.34.5 and my comments ad locum.

[80] Pauly-Wissowa: 16.1721-33. See also J. Murr: *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechische Mythologie*, 246.

[81] See Dioscorides: *De Materia Medica* 4.158 and 0. Polunin: *Flowers of Europe*, no. 1671 and plate 173. Cf. Ovid: *Metamorphoses* 3.422-3. Achilles Tatius: *Cleitophon and Leucippe* 1.19.

[82] See Ovid: *op.cit.* 509 which seems to be a different variety from that quoted in the reference supra.

[83] *Narcissus jonquilla*, for example, has perianth, segments, and corona of more or less the same shade. See Polunin, *op.cit.* no. 1667. Pliny's note on the Narcissus is puzzling. He distinguished two; one with a crimson flower, (*purpureo flore*), the other grass-green, *NH* 21.75 (128). The latter may be *Narcissus viridiflorus* which does have green flowers; see Polunin: *Flowers of South-West Europe*, 1668 and plate 60. W.H.S. Jones's note on the former in his Loeb edition of Pliny suggested that 'purpureus' referred only to the nectary of the flower, in which case Pheasant's Eye Narcissus would fit the description. I am not easy about this explanation, however, because *purpureo flore* should refer to the whole flower, (cf. Ovid: *Metamorphoses* 3.482-3), but for the moment I am unable to suggest a likely identification.

[84] Cf. Vergil:
'Haec inter tumidi late maris ibat imago,
aurea, sed fluctu spumabat caerula cano,'
Aeneid 8.671-2.

Plutarch

[85] See Tacitus: *Germania* 37.

[86] *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, (University of Wales 1970).

[87] For excellent illustrations of this see *CIBA Review* 1965 (no. 2), 2, 7, 13, 22.

[88] The point of comparison is made with the flower (τὸ λίνον ἀνθοῦν), not with the stem. Pausanias: 'The fine flax of Elis is as fine as that of the Hebrews but not as yellow (ξανθή),' 5.5.2. See also Frazer's commentary ad locum.

[89] See O. Polunin: *Flowers of Europe*, nos. 657 and 658.

[90] See J. Gwyn Griffiths, *op.cit.* 16-17.

[91] Anaxagoras: A43, 73, 84 (Diels, *Vorsokratiker*); Chrysippus, fr. 579 (von Arnim), 527; Dio Chrysostom: *Orationes* 40.37. See also J.B. Gould: *The Philosophy of Chrysippus*, 119-120. Parmenides: B8.56 (Diels).

[92] De Rerum Natura 5.458-9. Cf. Mithra's robe on the Capua fresco. Its underside (the sky) is deep blue; the topside (upper air) is fiery-coloured, L.A. Campbell: *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, 97. Both Aristotle and pseudo-Aristotle objected that the Stoics had based their theory on inaccurate etymology. "Aether is not so called because it is fiery, as some think (ὥς τινες) ... but because it always moves in its circular orbit," pseudo-Aristotle: *De Mundo* 2 (392a.5). Cf. Aristotle: *De Caelo* 1.3 (270b.22) and *Meteorologica* 1.3 (339b.23). This goes back to Plato: *Cratylus* 410b. Actually, the Stoics were right. Αἰθήρ is derived from αἴθω = I burn. See Chantraine: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, s.v. αἴθω.

Pollux

[93] Cf. Xenophon: *Cynegetica* 3.2-3.
[94] Cf. *Ibid.* 5.23.
[95] A.J. Winkler: *General Viticulture*, 20.
[96] *NH* 14.4 (42).
[97] Grzimek: 12.246 and plate 216, no. 1.
[98] It is also possible that there is a Ms. error, χαροπή appearing instead of χαρόνη which was glossed by Hesychius as χαρῖνος ἄμπελος, but cf. the 'ampelos' leopard, Aelian: *N.A.* 10.39.

Ptolemy

[99] Given as χαροποῦς by Proclus: *Paraphrasis in Ptolemaei Libros IV*, 3.16 (1654 edition).

Rufus

[100] Quoted in a slightly different form by Oribasius: 25.1.13. Ruelle translated χαροπόν as *brun*.

Sabinus

[101] For comment, see supra, 15.

Sextus Empiricus

[102] This does not conflict with my argument supra sub *P.Strassb.*, because I have there argued that if the person described in the papyrus is a negro his having streaky amber eyes would be very unusual indeed, and well worth a lawyer's noting as a distinguishing mark.

Symmachus

[103] Edited by F. Field, 2 vols., (Oxford 1875), 2.358.
[104] Retained by the Authorised Version.
[105] Cf. Adamantius 1.16.
[106] This reflects the κατάχοραι of the text by Aquila (second century A.D.).

Xenophon

[107] For comment, see my book on γλαυκός, 75-8.
[108] R. & A. Fiennes, 'It cannot be regarded as scientific evidence [but] cannot be dismissed outright; it raises the possibility that in establishing canine breeds, stocks other than those derived from the basic wolf blood have been used,' *The Natural History of the Dog*, 8. E.C. Ash, quoting Mivart, added, 'A possible reason for the difficulty of crossing foxes and dogs is the "peculiar and penetrating odour of the fox" (due to the secretion of its subcaudal gland) and the absence of it in the dog,' *The New Book of the Dog*, 15. For references, see J. Aymard: *Essai sur les chasses romaines*, 254-7 and plate Xa.
[109] *HA* 8.28 (607a.sq.).
[110] J.S. Watson translated χαροποί as 'blue-eyed', (London 1857), and E.C. Marchant as 'grey-eyed,' (Loeb ed. 1925).

Anacreontea

[111] See J.M. Edmonds, (Loeb ed. 1931), 16.

Anonymous

[112] This does not appear in the Collections of Meleager or Philippus and so presumably should be dated post first century A.D. Dübner translated χαροποῦ as *caeruleum*, (Paris 1888).

[113] Bergk thought that this might belong to Ibycus or Simonides, the latter representing fresh consideration on his part. The question is not capable of answer. The date is certainly before the second century A.D.

[114] G. Kaibel: *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 180. Dated to the sixth century B.C. It is unlikely that χαροπός here = χάλκεος since χαροπός was almost always used of the eyes.

[115] From Mytilene; no date. Despite the adjective's being applied to the statue, it is probable that χαροπός refers to the dog's enamelled or painted eyes. A statue made of bronze could be called χαροπός until patination had begun. Thereafter it would be light green or light blue.

[116] Or, indeed, Hecuba's. Old women often develop a rudimentary moustache, and beard about the chin. Cf. Euripides: *H.F.* 693, "πολιᾶν ἐκ γενύων." For Hecuba as a rabid bitch, cf. Euripides: *Hecuba* 1265. Quintus Smyrnaeus: 14.348-9.

[117] Cf. especially *A.G.* 7.426 (Antipater of Sidon), which says as much. Also *Ibid.* 7.344a (Simonides), 7.344b (Callimachus). Kaibel: *op.cit.* no. 242. Herodotus: 7.225. The most famous lion-monument, of course, is that at Chaeronea.

[118] The tradition may have lingered and so help to explain the very much later portrayals of Heracles, Ajax, Diomedes, Achilles, and Jason as χαροποί, although in the case of Heracles there may be a suggestion of his being χαροπός in Homer q.v. infra.

Antipater of Sidon

[119] *Greek Birds*, s.v. See also O. Keller: *Thiere des classischen Alterthums in culturgeschichte Beziehung*, (Innsbruck 1887), 290-1, and *Die Antike Tierwelt*, (Leipzig 1913), 224-5. J. Pollard: *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, 64-5.

[120] See Grzimek: 7. plate 385-6, no. 5 and 281, no. 1.

[121] Consequently, I think modern translations have missed the point. Paton: "grey goose," (Loeb 1917). Waltz: "aux yeux clairs," (Budé 1941). Beckby: "helläugige," (Munich 1957). Gow-Page: "bright-eyed," (*Hellenistic Epigrams*).

Apollonius Rhodius

[122] Adamantius 2.2. Pseudo-Aristotle: *Physiognomica* 5 (809b.19). Hesiod: *Theogony* 321. Homer: *Iliad* 11.611, etc. *P.Mag.Par.* 2.2790. Nonnos: *Dionysiaca* 40.52. Dicaearchus apud Clement of Alexandria: *Cohortatio ad Gentes* 1.2. Pausanias 9.34.5. Philostratus: *Vitae Sophistarum* 2 (552). A. Ardizzoni (ed. Book I, Athens 1967), drew attention to animals' eyes, but took the point no further.

[123] Philostratus Junior: *Imagines* 7.3. Cf. Oppian of Syria: *Cynegetica* 4.162 and 1.421.

[124] This is not to say that the sky at dawn does not assume various colours, including amber, but the associations of χαροπός in this particular context direct our attention also to the image of the watching, angry eye. The Scholiast missed the

point entirely and wrote of the air's being lightened and made brilliant. He quoted, perhaps from another commentary, "τὸ δὲ γλαυκὸν καὶ χαροπὸν συνωνύμως λέγεται," an equation which has already been shown to be false. Both this and his succeeding etymological discussion are οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον.

ARATUS

[125] *Cynegetica* 5.23. In the Latin version of Aratus's poem by 'Germanicus', χαροπός became *pernix* (618). Aratus's other colour-terms do not appear.

[126] J. Klepešsta and A. Rükl: *Constellations*, (London 1969), 182-3.

ARISTOPHANES

[127] For example, Graves (Cambridge 1911) and Platnauer (Oxford 1964).

[128] Cf. Kerkopes. See W.C. McDermott: *The Ape in Antiquity*, (Baltimore 1938), 60-1 for various references.

[129] McDermott, 28.

[130] See Grzimek: 10. plate 387 II no. 4. McDermott accepted that πίθηκος refers to the Barbary ape, 91, 97-8, 104. See also J.M.C. Toynbee: *Animals in Roman Life and Art*, (London 1973), 57.

ASCLEPIADES

[131] It will be remarked from this that I attribute 5.209 to Asclepiades and not to Poseidippos. The reasons are psychological and will become clear during the course of the following argument.

[132] For details, see Gow-Page: *Hellenistic Epigrams*, 117.

[133] Not his own coinage. It was used by Sappho and Meleager.

[134] I have also omitted the following because they do not help one to understand Asclepiades's character; 5.169, 181, and 185. They are 'impersonal' in the sense that they do not involve his deepest feelings, or reveal intimate aspects of his personality.

[135] Cf. for example, 5.245.3. Aristophanes: *Ranae* 305. Herodotus: 3.8. See also Daremberg-Saglio: *Dictionnaire* s.v. Iusiurandum, 750.

[136] *Op.cit.* 123.

[137] "Der Gott Lychnos," *RhM.* 114 (1971), 333-39.

[138] "Asclépiade, Heracleia, et la lampe," *REG* 86 (1973), 319-22.

[139] See LSJM for examples.

[140] Cf. 5.8, 162, 165, 166, 191, 197 (Meleager); 5.4 (Philodemus); 5.5 (Statyllius Flaccus); 5.128 (Marcus Argentarius). Note also Aristophanes: *Lysistrata* 1003, where lamp = penis. On lamps with erotic scenes, see G. Vorberg: *Glossarium Eroticum*, (Stuttgart 1932), plates 100, 104, 105, 106, 108, 113, 147, 149, 177, 184, 185, 186, 330, 335, 410, 412, 426, 455, 459, 498, 570, 572, 594, 597, 598, 600, 601, 766, 767. Cf. J. Marcadé: *Eros Kalos* (Geneva 1962), plates 58-63. On the lamp as penis, see Vorberg, plates between 176 and 177, 178, 499, 500.

[141] For very full references, see G. Thomson: *The Oresteia of Aeschylus*, (Amsterdam 1966), ad Agamemnon 418-19, and K. Kost: *Musaios, Hero und Leander*, (Bonn 1971), 126-32.

[142] For details, see G. Devereux: 'The self-blinding of Oidipous in Sophocles, Oidipous Tyrannos,' *JHS* 93 (1973), 42-5. Cf. W. Déonna: *Le symbolisme de l'œuil*, (Paris 1965), 68-70.

[143] See J. Henderson: *The Maculate Muse*, (Yale 1975), 140-1. A further implication is that Meleager sees himself in the female role, the κόλποι of others inferring the 'κόλπος' of himself.

144 Lamp = lover's eye = penis. Active looking = erection. See G. Devereux: 'The technique of analysing "occult" occurrences in analysis,' ed. *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*, (London ed. 1974), 407.

145 As distinguished from the active μαραίνω, Aristotle: *De Caelo* 3.6 (305a.11).

146 Notice the phrase 'τὴν δολίην ἀπάμυνον' addressed to his lamp—*keep off, repulse*, with the added notion of self-notion of self-defence, followed by the natural development, *take vengeance on*. A. Storr has remarked, "Competitive aggressiveness, sibling rivalry, is characteristic of immaturity and should diminish as self-realisation proceeds," *The Integrity of the Personality*, (Penguin Books 1963), 56.

147 "Callimachean subtlety in Asclepiades of Samos," *CR* n.s. 19 (1969), 6-8.

148 Verses 1054-7. Notice that, in contrast, King Lear has left sufficient sense of reality to make his own comment upon his similar ravings, "My wits begin to turn," V.2.

149 Cf. Alcibiades breaking in at the doors of prostitutes, Athenaeus: 13 (674e).

150 The 'thou' of Asclepiades's epigram refers to Nature which here does the thrusting, but its identification with Zeus himself is clear enough. Φύσις = phallos, see Henderson: *The Maculate Muse*, 5. *A.G.* 5.45 (Cillactor). Zeus as a shower of gold = (a) bribery, (b) semen.

151 On this point see further G. Devereux: *Dreams in Greek Tragedy*, (Oxford 1976), 49. "In dream she [Io] eludes responsibility for her *wishes* by *projecting* them on 'Zeus', as she projects her *consent* to such a union on the dream-voice, which only provides Io with *reasons* for doing what she already *wishes* to do," [his italics]. Cf. the similar argument used by Achilles to explain his wrath. Zeus makes men blind and the death of men in battle is his will (= fault): *Iliad* 19.270 sq. See further H. Lloyd-Jones: *The Justice of Zeus*, (University of California 1971), 23-4.

152 Cf. Eubulus, fr. 98, and see C. Buck: "Euripides's Mother: Vegetables and the Phallos in Aristophanes," *Arion* n.s. 2/1 (1975), 17 and notes 21, 22.

153 For references, a and b, see LSJM.

154 Cf. the prayer, "Pour down, pour down, dear Zeus, on the cornland and pastures of the Athenians," Marcus Antoninus: *Ad Seipsum* 5.7. Zeus ὄμβριος, Hesiod: *Opera et Dies* 415-16. Lycophron: *Alexandra* 160.

155 Plutarch: *Moralia* (Septem Sapientium Convivium 15), 158e.

156 *Art.cit.* 7.

157 See G. Devereux: "Self-blinding of Oidipous," 42.

158 Cleophon's lightning flashes are χαροπαί because they come from his eyes which are that colour.

159 This reading rejects Wilamowitz's emendation as unnecessary. See Arnott: *art.cit.* 8.

160 For references see LSJM.

161 Cf. Xenophon (on statues): "Is it not by accurately representing the different parts of the body ... that you make them look more like real limbs and more convincing," (ὁμοιότερά τε τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς καὶ πιθανώτερα ποιεῖς φαίνεσθαι;) *Memorabilia* 3.10.7.

162 Ἔχειν = to take physical possession of someone. Aristophanes: *Aves* 787; *Pax* 863. Antiphilus, fr. 102.2. Theocritus: 15.131. *A.G.* 7.217.1 (Asclepiades) may also have the same meaning.

163 Notice he is convinced that a woman will not be faithful. The belt has many colours. Its message is embroidered in gold. Why? Because the woman is a prostitute and receives money for her favours. She is faithless to all men; her body can be bought, but not by Asclepiades—at least, not more than once. His attempt at love-making was a failure; he could only 'play around.' It is the other man who 'takes possession'—ἕτερος, *one of two*, but not given a name or otherwise specified.

Any other man is Asclepiades's personal rival and is more competent at love-making than he.

[164] "A femme fatale in Asclepiades," *CR* n.s. 17 (1967), 250-54. Cf. *A.G.* 5.114 (Maccius).

[165] *Theriaca* 157 sq.

[166] See *Theriaca* 235-57. According to L.G. Appleby, who has had personal experience of being bitten by an adder, the effects of the bite are as follows. Soon after being bitten the flesh begins to throb and swell. During the next two days the throbbing is replaced by a dull ache and heaviness in the bitten limb. Pain is often experienced in the armpit and the groin. Thereafter, the swelling subsides. There is loss of appetite but an increase in thirst. Discolouration of the area surrounding the bite resembles that of bruising. In severe cases, such as Nicander described, there is drowsiness, vomiting, sweating, (though the victim often complains of feeling cold, and the swollen area itself feels cold to the touch), and laboured breathing, *British Snakes*, (London 1971), 115-28. Notice 121 which mentions blue, green, and yellow around the bitten area.

[167] *Theriaca* 251. Appleby, 116.

[168] Cf. *medium unguem ostendere*, an obscene phallic gesture, Juvenal: 10.53. For further references, see J.E.B. Mayor's note ad locum in his edition of Juvenal, (London 1872-1878), to which add *A.G.* 12.243 (Strato).

[169] That is, the seat of sexual potency. Eros/'love' is indistinguishable from sexual expression of it. 'Platonic affection' was little more than theorising on the part of one exceptional individual.

[170] For references see LSJM.

[171] See P.G. Maxwell-Stuart: "Further Notes on Strato's Musa Puerilis," *Hermes* 103 (1975), 381. LXX *Deuteronomy* 11.10. Aristophanes: *Lysistrata* 416, 664. *A.G.* 11.403 (Lucian).

[172] Snake-bite = defloration. Apollodorus: 3.9.15. Plutarch: *Alexander* 3.1. G. Devereux: *Dreams*, 337-8. *A.G.* 5.203. See also Marcadé: *Eros Kalos*, plate 76. [Thetis and Peleus. She is the dominant figure. Her three snakes are preparing to bite him]. *Ibid.* plate 32, detail 33. Snakes can also prevent assault upon a woman. See Marcadé, plate 97 and cf. Nonnos: *Dionysiaca* 35.204-22. The effect is the same; the 'aggressive' woman renders the man incapable.

[173] For example, *A.G.* 11.30 (Philodemus). 12.232 (Scythinus). Ovid: *Amores* 3.7, 13, 16, 65. Martial: 13.34.1. L. Braun wanted to emend the last line of Asclepiades's poem to νυστάζων ἐπέβην, ἥ μ' ἔδακε(ν) κραδίαν, in the interests of keeping medical rather than sexual terminology, *Hermes* 97 (1969), 373-4. I hope, however, that my discussion will show that the sexual ἔθιγον τ' Ἀΐδα is essential to a proper understanding of the whole poem. It is a psycho-sexual description, not a fanciful play on the theme of 'dying for love.'

[174] Cf. 5.153 in which the woman was destroyed by the man.

[175] Cf. the λαμυρὸν κάρηνον of Nicander's viper, *Theriaca* 293. See also Borthwick's remarks ad locum, *art.cit.* 253.

[176] 5.213 by Poseidippos seems to have been inspired by this epigram. A translation will reveal Poseidippos's completely different psychology. "If anyone is having sex with Pythias, I'll go away. But if she is sleeping alone, for God's sake let her be told I'm here, and admit me for a short while. If she wants a reason, tell her that in spite of my being drunk and having an encounter with thieves, I had Love the Courageous as my guide!"

[177] See Gow and Page, 126-7.

[178] See L. Broccia: "ΘΑΛΛΟΣ in Asclepiade," *PP* 6 (1951), 54-61.

[179] Συνήρπασεν, *snatched away, carried off*. The subject is Didyme. Cf. the rape of Persephone by Pluto, Apollodorus: 1.5.1.

[180] See F.M. Snowden: *Blacks in Antiquity*, (Harvard 1970), 178-9.

[181] Roses = pudenda muliebra. See Pherecrates, fr. 108.29 and Cratinus, fr. 111.

[182] Notice various Greek terms for sexual activity. References to the mouth often imply fellatio; Aristophanes: *Lysistrata* 855. *Ecclesiazusae* 1107. Strattis, fr. 40.2. Cf. στοματεύειν, Hesychius s.v. λεσβιᾶν. Βόσκεσθαι, Aristophanes: *Aves* 1099 etc. Notice, too, that Asclepiades has been 'led on' as though he were a hungry animal. His (sexual) appetite cannot match hers and he is about to be eaten as though he were meat, (which is what animals are for). Cf. the American slang meat = penis.

[183] For references see LSJM.

[184] This would not necessarily have been resented by the woman. See Devereux: *Dreams*, 339 and note 75. *Rubbing* and *chafing* make θλίβω a euphemism for sexual intercourse.

[185] The evidence for this is so extensive that it hardly needs documentation. It is sufficient to glance at the illustrations in Vorberg and Marcadé.

[186] As does τάλαινα, an exclamation of self-pity, as Gow and Page point out. The second couplet hangs very uneasily on to the first and is a poor expression of commonplace sentiments—inevitably so, perhaps, because Asclepiades had made his point in the first couplet and there is really nothing more to add after that.

[187] Plutarch: *Lycurgus* 15.8. See also H. Licht: *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, (London 1932), 128. Other examples of 'sliding' are given by G. Devereux: "Greek Pseudo-homosexuality and the Greek Miracle," *SO* 42 (1968), 82-5.

[188] Cf. χρυσωπός = golden-eyed, Euripides: *Electra* 740. Cornutus 32. Aelian, "τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς χρυσοειδεῖς," *N.A.* 11.24.

[189] Cf. Nicander: *Theriaca* 694. Hippocrates: *De Morbis* 1.28 = Littré 6.196.

[190] Fr. 1.1. Cf. Theognis 344. Sophocles: *Ajax* 973, 1005. *Philoctetes* 1115.

[191] For references, see Henderson: *The Maculate Muse*, 164-6, and see also J. Glenn: "The phantasies of Phaedra; a psychoanalytic reading," *CW* 69 (1976), 440-1.

[192] Her name, 'puppet, doll,' was almost certainly a trade-soubriquet. Callimachus used it of a wax-doll, *Hymnus in Cererem* (IV) 92, and Alciphron of a pet dog, *Epistulae* 2.19.3.

[193] Aristophanes: *Vespae* 501. *Lysistrata* 59-60. Plato comicus, fr. 174.18. Cf. Marcadé, plates 152, 137.

[194] See Devereux: *Dreams*, 46.

[195] *Golden* is an adjective whose significance I shall discuss in due course.

[196] For references, see LSJM.

[197] See Devereux: *Dreams*, 11.

[198] See M. Lüscher: *The Lüscher Colour Test*, trans. I.A. Scott, (London 1969), 63, 68. R.H. Alschuler and L.B.W. Hattwick: "Group data and individual case analyses suggest that children who emphasised yellow tended to stand out because of their dependent, emotional behaviour. Age data, together with observations, suggest that yellow may often be a reflection of the infantile stage of development .... Children who preferred yellow to blue tended as a group to show more emotional dependence on adults," *Painting and Personality*, 29. Notice, too, that amber seems to have been connected both with the mother-goddess and with the sea, Tacitus: *Germania* 45.2-4.

[199] Cf. Euripides: *IA* 1559. Aeschylus: *Supplices* 925. Sophocles: *OC* 856.

[200] Notice that the eyes of Cleophon/Asclepiades (5.153) which destroy Nicarete are χαροπαί.

[201] Cf. the psychology behind the English phrase 'pissing on someone', that is, doing him harm.

[202] *Dreams*, 121. Cf. M.S. Silk: *Interaction in Poetic Imagery*, 173-93.

[203] Elsewhere, χαροπός and χαροποιός were easily interchanged because of simple misunderstanding of the context. See Appendix B.

[204] Cf. 5.154 and 12.53 (Meleager). 9.36 (Secundus). 5.156 (Meleager) in which the Mss. read χαλεποῖς. Χαροποῖς is an emendation by Estienne. Cf. also *Odyssey* 11.611, Scholiast ad locum (Dindorf). Gow and Page certainly take χαροποῖς κύμασι as a "ready made pattern," and list several similar formulae used by Meleager, *op.cit.*, 592.

[205] *Greek Textual Criticism*, (Harvard 1969), 92. W. and M. Wallace pointed out that Asclepiades was fond of inventing new words and of using old ones in new senses, *Asklepiades of Samos*, (Oxford 1941), xiv. See further O. Knauer: *Die Epigramme des Asklepiades v. Samos*, (Würzburg 1935), 33 sq.

[206] I am aware that my interpretation of Asclepiades's poetry is not in accord with what previous commentators have said about him. The Wallaces' phrases, "light, unaffected love poems, graceful, inventive, vivid, natural ease, quiet eagerness," (*op.cit.* ix-xv) are far from the morbid introverted personality I have found in his poems. It is difficult, of course, to avoid interpreting literature in accordance with the prevailing mood and interest of one's own day. The critic finds it a great effort to penetrate beyond what Cornford called the 'circumambient atmosphere' of his period. A. Couat, for example, who wrote in 1884, found Asclepiades simply 'licentious', *Alexandrian Poetry under the first three Ptolemies*, English trans. (London 1931), 198. The Wallaces' picture, however, reminds one of the pictures of Tadema, a beautifully produced tableau in which Victorian models wear and are surrounded by trappings of an imagined Classicism. Compare A. Rostagni, "Tale il poeta. Vino, amore, voluttà gli bruciavano il cuore. Eppure egli si avvolgeva nella sua rosea atmosfera di arguzie e di sogni, e di quei travagli si faceva un trastullo e servigio dell' imaginazione," *Poeti Alessandrini*, (Turin 1916), 237. Cf. *Ibid.* 227-30. A. Körte ventured no further. "His art does not, to be sure, penetrate into the uttermost depths of the soul, but he does express with delightful truth and simplicity the various moods of a highly cultivated and pleasure-loving society. The greatest charm of these dainty miniatures, the perfection of form and language, no translation can reproduce," *Hellenistic Poetry*, English trans. (New York 1929), 369-70. But twenty years later, L.A. Stella was prepared to take him more seriously. "In Asclepiade le situazioni divenute poi convenzionali riflettono un personale stato d' animo; le invicazioni passate alla fraseologia di repertorio sono l' espressione di un sentimento serio e commosso; l' invito ad amare e a godere racchiude una sofferenza sincera," *Cinque Poeti dell' Antologia Palatina*, (Bologna 1949), 69. U Albini, discussing Asclepiades's love poems, said that they lack two notes, nostalgia and tenderness, and remarked that his sufferings in love were genuine. They came from the heart, not the imagination, "Asclepiade di Samo," *PP* 16 (1961), 417, 425. It is this perception I have tried to take a step further to show, not only the sufferings of the poet but the cause and deep-seated origins of his pain.

Bianor

[207] See Grzimek: 6.425 and plate 430, no. 2. See also M. Manni: *Le pitture della Casa del Colonnato Tuscanino*, plate 21, no. 3 which shows two yellow-brown snakes of this kind.

[208] *Venomous Reptiles*, 117, 120. The effects of poisoning by the *Naja* were described by H. Noguchi: *Snake Venoms*, 118. They do not appear to be as simple or mild as the Mintons suggest. The *Ebers Papyrus* (c. 1550 B.C.) is both vivid and accurate in its description of a similar poisoning. It was quoted by the Mintons, *op.cit.*, 149.

[209] See G. Underwood, apud C. Gans and T.S. Parsons, edd.: *Biology of the Reptilia*, Vol. 2 (London and New York 1970), 52. Χαροπός is quite often used of parts of the body. See, for example, Arrian: *Cynegeticus* 4.5. Nonnos: *Dionysiaca* 4.360; 40.52, 307.

Hesiod

[210] C.F. Russo's note in his edition of the *Scutum*, 2nd. ed. (Florence 1965), ignores any colour-meaning—"dallo sguardo ardente, dallo sguardo di pugna." His reference to Pliny: *N.H.* 8.16 escapes me, though at 8.21 (54) Pliny did say that the lion's entire strength is concentrated in its eyes. Cf. Scholiast ad *Theogoniam* 321, "διὰ τὸ πρὸς πᾶν κακὸν ἰσχυρόν." Russo followed the example of earlier translators. Cf. Schrevel and Krebs, "trucesque leones," (Leipzig 1746), repeated by F.S. Lehrs, (Paris 1878). J. Banks, "terrible lions," (London 1892). A.W. Mair, "fierce-eyed lions," (Oxford 1908). P. Mazon, "aux yeux ardents," (Budé ed. 1928). In his 1883 edition, Paley wanted to derive χαροπός from χαρ, to mean *wide-mouthed*, but it is a little difficult to see how a word connected with the mouth later became a characteristic adjective of the eyes. H.G. Evelyn-White's 'bright-eyed lions,' (Loeb ed. 1914) also avoids any reference to colour, perhaps because the lexica insist on recording the word as *blue* or *grey*. Lions, however, have amber eyes; it is as simple as that.

Homer

[211] Pausanias 9.34.5. Philostratus: *Vitae Sophistarum* 2 (552).

[212] Cf. my argument that Homer called the sea γλαυκή (*Iliad* 16.34) in allusion to the γλαυκοί eyes of Achilles, in my book on γλαυκός, 90-1.

[213] Gladstone provided an odd, rambling note to this passage. 'Χαροπός is applied to the lion in *Odyssey* 11.611, and it is the proper name of the father of Nireus in the Catalogue, while his mother is Ἀγλαΐη. From this latter use we can see that χαροπός is not in Homer an epithet of colour, since he never describes the face by means of colour. Its etymology refers us to gladsomeness, and this is much more connected, in the Poet's mind, with light than with colour," *Studies on Homer*, III.475. I do not know why Gladstone should have assumed that Homer was here trying to describe the lions' faces, since the eyes are quite clearly meant. Moreover, he was wrong about Homer's never using a colour-term of the face. See *Iliad* 3.35 (ὦχρος). J. van Leeuwen's note ad locum anticipated my own conclusion. "Ravis (sive lutei coloris) oculis," (1917). *Ravus* = amber/light brown; see supra, 11.

Hymni Homerici

[214] Each time χαροπός appeared, J. Humbert (Budé ed. 1936) took it as a reference to the coat, not to the eye, and translated accordingly, "au poil fauve." A. Lang, on the other hand, thought it referred to the eye but did not see it as a colour-term; "bright-eyed, burning eyed, fiery-eyed," (London 1899). Cf. H.G. Evelyn-White, "fierce-eyed, grim-eyed, bright-eyed," (Loeb ed. 1914), and F. Cassola, "dallo sguardo truce, scintillanti, fieri," (Milan 1975).

Inscriptiones Graecae

[215] This is a hymn to the Mother of the Gods. *SEG* 22 (1966), 281. Cf. *Homeric Hymn* (14).4.

Pseudo-Manetho

[216] Koechly translated χαροποῖο here by *terrifici*, but by *flavum* in verse 387, *Poetae Bucolici et Didactici*, (Paris 1851).
[217] Koechly, "oculis superbum."

Marcellus Sidetes

[218] *Greek Fishes*, s.v.
[219] See M.&R. Burton, (edd.): *Encyclopaedia of Fish*, 242 and 243 which has coloured illustrations of the principal varieties.

Meleager

[220] "Ναὶ τὰν νηξαμέναν χαροποῖς ἐνὶ κύμασι Κύπριν." Notice the balanced alliteration, N in the first half of the couplet, K in the second. It is quite deliberate and accounts, at least in part, for the use of χαροπός here.
[221] Literally, "of the sea." Χαροπός is here a colour-noun.
[222] According to Gow and Page, χαροποῖς is a conjecture by Stephanus, the Mss. having χαλεποῖς or γαληνοῖς, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2.622. Asclepias may be a prostitute. Sailing metaphors often expressed sexual terminology. See Henderson: *The Maculate Muse*, 164.

Mesomedes

[223] *Anthologiarum Libri* 2.40 (ed. Kroll). Cf. *C.C.A.G*: 4.82[1-2], (Commentary on Paul of Alexandria by Heliodorus the astronomer).

Nonnos

[224] Bulls' horns vary in colour from dirty off-white to yellow.
[225] I prefer to treat χαροπός here as a colour-term. The phrase is reminiscent of 4.360 and 5.363 in which there is little doubt that it is one.
[226] Cf. *A.G.* 10.22 (Bianor).
[227] See Grzimek: 6.442.
[228] See Grzimek: 12. plate 125, no. 5.
[229] Cf. Oppian of Syria: *Cynegetica* 4.234. Nonnos transferred γλαυκός in similar fashion. See 15.185, γλαυκά ... νῶτα λεόντων where γλαυκά refers, not to the lions' backs, but to their eyes.
[230] See G.F.H. Smith: *Gemstones*, 479.
[231] Smith, 319. The yellow is called 'Indian topaz' because it comes from Ceylon.
[232] Smith, *loc.cit.*

Oppian of Syria

[233] The horses are to match the lions and, as lions were incorrectly supposed to be exophthalmic as well as having amber-coloured irides, the horses facing them were to be of a similar kind.
[234] See supra, 7.
[235] See my book on γλαυκός, 78.
[236] *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. I, (ed. W.B. Fisher, 1968), 62-9. Cf. Strabo 11.9.1-3.

[237] Strabo 11.13.7.
[238] M. Jankovich: *They Rode into Europe*, 30, 32, 44. Strabo 11.9.2.
[239] M.H. Hayes: *Points of the Horse*, 453, 455.
[240] See W. Ridgeway: *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, 190. W. Schmidt translated χαροπούς as "wild, Kampfeslustig blickend," without any reference at all to colour, *Kommentar zum ersten Buch von pseudo-Oppians Kynegetika*, (Münster 1969).
[241] *The Leopard*, (London 1967), 223. A.W. Mair (Loeb ed. 1928) noted that Oppian's 'panther' was likely to have been an Ounce rather than the larger *Panthera pardus*. This will make no difference to the colour either of its eyes or of its coat.

Oracula Sibyllina

[242] In his 1869 edition, C. Alexandre suggested that the 'genuine' parts of Book 3, into which category this quotation falls, were written during the first half of the second century A.D., a conclusion with which J. Geffcken agreed, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina*, (Leipzig 1902), 7. V. Nikiprowetzky, however, argued for the late first century B.C., *La Troisième Sibylle*, (Paris 1970), 195-225, and his proposal seems to have won a fair degree of acceptance. See the review by J. Gwyn Griffiths, *CR* n.s. 23 (1973), 97-8.

Orphica

[243] See G. Dottin's edition, (Paris 1930), clvii-viii.
[244] That is, the sea. Χαροπόν was translated as *azurés* by Dottin. This misses the point, as there is a pun here between χαροπός and χαροποιός dependent upon the preceding γεγήθοτες.
[245] Dottin, "les clairs ondes."
[246] Quoted by Justin: *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 15 = Migne, *P.G*: 5.272 which dates the quotation to c. 165 A.D. or earlier. Also quoted by pseudo-Justin: *De Monarchia* 2 = Migne, *P.G*: 5.317.
[247] This is Phanes, the Orphic god of light, later identified with Mithras himself. See M.J. Vermaseren: *Mithras, the Secret God*, trans. Th. and M. Megaw, (London 1963), 124 and plate 9.

Papyrus Chicaginiensis

[248] Part of a hymn to Arsinöe-Aphrodite. See further Powell's notes ad locum in *Collectanea Alexandrina*.

Papyrus Magicus Parisiensis

[249] The text was also published by M.E. Miller: *Mélanges de la littérature grecque*, (Paris 1868), 452-8, in which χαροποῖς was translated as 'superbes.'
[250] W.F. Volbach: *Early Christian Art*, (London 1961), plate 107.
[251] R. Delbrueck: *Die Consulardiptychen*, (Berlin 1929), 232-5 and plate 61. The plates were published separately.
[252] F. Cumont: *Les Mystères de Mithra*, (Brussels 1913), 120. M.J. Vermaseren: *Mithras, the Secret God*, 71. L.A. Campbell: *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, (Leiden 1968), 129.
[253] M.J. Vermaseren: *Mithraica I*, (Leiden 1971), plate X.

[254] *Mithras Platonicus*, (Leiden 1975), 73. Cf. L.A. Campbell: *op.cit.* 136, 232-3, 382. "Ταυρόκερως Μήνη," *Orphic Hymn* 9.2 (Abel). Verses 2802-3 of the Papyrus *Hymn* emphasises the identification,

νυκτιβόη, ταυρῶπι, φιλήρεμε, ταυροκάρηνε·
ὄμμα δέ τοι ταυρωπὸν ἔχεις.

Cf. Nonnos: *Dionysiaca* 1.97-8 and see Rouse's note ad locum in his Loeb edition (1940). Cf. also *Ibid.* 1.215-17, 222.

Secundus

[255] The beginning of this epigram looks like an elaboration upon another on the same theme by Antiphilus of Byzantium, *A.G.* 9.34.

Sophocles

[256] Migne, *P.G*: 5.316.

Theocritus

[257] In his Budé edition (1925), Legrand translated χαροποῖο here and χαροπόν in 225 as 'aux yeux étincelants,' although the lion is dead and his skin has been removed. It is more likely, therefore, that in each case the adjective refers to the skin and means *tawny*. Some Mss. have χαλεπόν instead of χαροπόν.

[258] Legrand, "aux yeux de lumière." This misses the point, as *bright eyes* tells one nothing significant about Ganymede.

[259] Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius: *Argonautica* 1.1280.

[260] See further the remarks of R. Swigart: "Theocritus's pastoral response to city women," *Bucknell Review* 21 (1973), 145-74.

[261] R.W. Garson: "Formal aspects of Theocritean comparison," *CPh* 68 (1973), 56-8. Garson gives a number of examples.

[262] The comparison may have been inspired by Theocritus: 2.79, as Gow pointed out in his commentary ad locum.

[263] Athene was called χαροπή by Lucian: *Dialogi Deorum* 19.1, but this was for a special purpose. See my commentary ad locum.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

[1] Pausanias 9.34.5. Dicaearchus did write a work, now lost, on the geography of Greece, so it is possible that he knew about the Boeotian Heracles Charops, and had him in mind when he penned his description.

[2] Cf. pseudo-Archytas who specifically used χαροπότης of the eyes, *Categorias* 5 (2b.1).

[3] Galen, too, has a reference to lions' eyes, in a passage in which he quoted directly from Homer, *In Hippocratis Epidemias 3, Commentarius* 3.70 = $K17^1$.723-4.

[4] There is no significance in the different spelling. This is simply a late form of χαροπός. Cf. pseudo-Manetho: *Apotelesmatica* 5.230. In verse, Theocritus had already used χαροπός to describe a lion-skin.

[5] Cf. the description of a χαροπός dog set over a tomb, *IG* $12^2.383^3$. It is unlikely to have been painted χαροπός or to have been plated with metal of that colour. Χαροπός almost certainly refers to its enamelled eyes which were easy to add and a distinctive feature of the finished statue.

[6] Supra, 30.

[7] Sophocles used χαροπός of 'animals' without specifying which he meant.

[8] Theocritus used it of human eyes and a Lion's skin.

[9] For a full discussion, see supra, 45-6. Later poets who used the adjective thus are Antipater of Sidon, Meleager, Anacreontea, Oracula Sibyllina, Secundus, Oppian of Cilicia, P. Chicago, Orphica, and Nonnos.

[10] Also *I.G.* (lion) and Mesomedes (Moon).

[11] Hares and lions. In the fourth century, usage referred to the lion (Orphica), dawn and the Moon (Quintus Smyrnaeus) and bulls (P.Mag.Par.).

[12] Supra, 51-2.

[13] Perhaps pseudo-Manetho should be included, although he did not widen the range of χαροπός at all. His references were to the constellation *Leo* and a large, primal man created in heroic mould.

[14] *Symbols of Transformation* = Collected Works 5. 386, note 186; 280; 431 and note 75; 121.

[15] J. Lindsay: *The Origins of Alchemy in Greco-Roman Egypt*, 36, 313. Jung: *Mysterium Coniunctionis* = Collected Works. 14.117.

[16] KN Sc 257.1. See also KN X7634 and MY Au 657.4. Χάροψ was not only a title of Heracles but may also have been the name of his daughter, Plutarch: *Moralia* 362b. It was the name of a Dionysiac initiate, Diodorus Siculus: 3.65.6, and appeared in a school-boy's exercise book, *P. Bouriant* 1.3.64 (4th A.D.).

[17] Sanskrit dictionaries make the range of colour-meaning wider, to include green and reddish-brown. Sanskrit colour-terms stand in as much need of close investigation as Greek and, as far as I can tell from a cursory glance at the literature, *hári* probably has the same meaning as χαροπός, suggestions of 'green' being the result of misunderstanding. Notice the link between *hári* and *hiraṇya* = gold.

NOTES TO APPENDICES

A.

[1] Text of I.E. Drabkin, (Chicago 1950). Drabkin added his own note, 'Greek *charopos*, "glassy" ', which is not very informative since Roman glass could be of many different colours, including very pale yellow.

[2] See D.E. Eisendrath and H.C. Rolnick: *Urology*, 809, 63.

B.

[3] LSJM s.v. χαροποιός rightly dubs this *Genesis* passage a falsa lectio.

[4] Cf. the oldest Latin version, 'gratiosos enim habebat oculos,' [ed. H. Hoppenbrouwers, Nijmegen 1960] and Evagrius, (c. 375 A.D.), 'laetificatos enim habebat oculos,'. The Coptic ⲙⲉϩ ⲛ ⲣⲁϣⲉ = 'full of joy'. See also *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, trans. A. Festugière, (Paris 1964), 42 note 7, on Theon. Cf. Eustathius's definition, 'οὐ χαρὰν ποιῶν,' 703.29-33.

C.

[5] *Physiognomica* 34 = Förster II.52. *Physiognomica Arabica* 1 = Förster I.148.

[6] 69.2.20.

[7] *Epidemiae* 2, section 5.1 = Littré 5.128.
Epidemiae 3, section 3.14 = Littré 3.96.

[8] Basil II had eyes which were both fiery and amber (χαροπόν), Psellus: *Chronographia* 1.35, The Penguin translation [E.R.A. Sewter, 1966], wrongly renders this as 'light blue.'

D.

[9] Apud Förster 1.117. Cf. Columella: *De re rustica* 10.100 (*caeruleos hyacinthos*).

[10] *The Book of Questions about the Eye*, no. 67.

[11] *Ibid.* no. 68. Cf. pseudo-Polemon, apud Förster 1.243, the pure Greek type had liquid, very mobile eyes (*shahla*).

[12] Notice the Arabic translation of pseudo-Polemon. The colour of a lion's eye is *ashhal* (1.197); a χαροπός eye (*shahla*) shines like the sun, 1.149.

E.

[13] See further Pauly-Wissowa: V^{A}.2148-9.

[14] *Op.cit.* 7.10 and 8.15. Cf. the list given by John the Actuary in *De Urinis* 1.7.3-35, apud Ideler: *Physici et Medici Graeci*, and by Avicenna: *The Canon of Medicine* §§ 609-26.

[15] Bodley, Ashmole Ms. 789 folio 364v.

[16] Bodley, Ashmole Ms. 391 folio 10.

[17] Trinity, Cambridge, Ms. 922.

[18] I am grateful to Miss C. Monsey for checking the Ashmolean Mss. on my behalf.